

FOREWORD

I gladly comply with the request of my friend and sometime pupil, Dr. Muḥammad Nizāmu'd-Dīn, now Professor of Persian in the Osmania University, Hyderabad, that I should write a few lines of introduction to the present work, with which, as Trustee-in-charge, I have had exceptional opportunities of making myself acquainted. Yet the pleasure I feel in performing this task is shadowed with regret. I cannot but recall that the work was initiated, directed, and supervised by one who is no longer with us, and that the resolution to publish it was adopted on his recommendation at a meeting of the Trustees held on November 1st, 1924, the last over which he was destined to preside.

While Professor Browne was by no means blind to 'Awfi's demerits, he appreciated the value and importance both of the *Lubābu'l-Albāb*, which his own edition has rendered accessible to students, and the *Fawā'idu'n-n'āl-Hikdyāt*. Had he been spared to write a Foreword to this volume, he might have enriched it with many observations drawn from his incomparable knowledge of Persian literary history. For me it is easier to call attention, as I am sure he also would have done, to the principal results achieved by the author's learning, industry, and enthusiasm.

First, the anecdotes comprised in a hundred chapters and exceeding two thousand in number have been classified, catalogued, and either provided with descriptive titles or summarised, so that with little trouble readers can obtain a systematic view of every part of the immense and hitherto uncharted Persian "Ocean of Story"

Second, the sources whence 'Awfi derived the materials for his work have been thoroughly explored and, so far as possible, established. This chapter (pp. 33—103), and indeed the whole of Dr. Nizāmu'd-Dīn's book, displays a critical ability and range of erudition not unworthy of the eminent scholar whom he has taken as his model, Mīrzā Muḥammad of Qazwīn. 'Awfi must have had at his command a very large miscellaneous library, including many precious works now lost, and fortunately for us he followed "the good old rule" of appropriating whatever suited his purpose. Judged by the standard of his day, he seems to have been passably honest: here and there he acknowledges a debt, and if he is apt to abridge and popularise his authorities, he does not wilfully garble them.

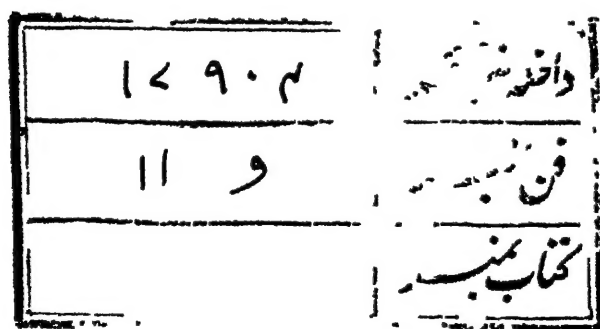
Third, much new light has been thrown upon the details of 'Awfi's life and literary career. From the evidence adduced it appears certain that 'Awfi's Persian translation of Tanúkhī's *Faraj ba'da 'sh-Shidda* preceded that of Ḥusayn ibn As'ad ad-Dihistānī, which Ethé supposed to have been the earlier.

Fourth, by personal examination and comparison of more than twenty MSS. and especially of seven belonging to the 14th century the way has been paved for a complete edition of the *Ḥawāṣi u'l-Ḥikāyat*. Apart from the interest of its contents, the text is a monument of classical Persian prose. Great as are the difficulties of publishing it there is reason to hope that they will be overcome.

Subsequent writers made free use of the almost inexhaustible fund of information preserved in the *Ḥawāṣi*. As the numerous examples given by Dr. Niẓamu'd-Dīn are all, I think, cited from historians or collectors of anecdotes who wrote in prose, I should like to add that probably some of the oldest traces of 'Awfī's influence are to be found in the *Mathnawī* of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī. Of course it does not follow that whenever both relate the same story the latter has borrowed it from the former, but several instances suggest that Jalālu'd-Dīn may have dipped into the *Ḥawāṣi* with profit to himself and his readers. Anecdote 1192 in 'Awfī, the original version of the Story of the Arab and his Wife (*Mathnawī*, Bk I, v. 2244 *sqq.*), shows how masterfully the genius of the poet could deal with any material presented to it. The wife, who plays such a conspicuous part in the tale, is not mentioned by 'Awfī, she has been created for the sake of the allegory, in which she typifies the flesh at war with the spirit. I must not dwell on this subject and will only remark that Jalālu'd-Dīn's methods of adaptation are further illustrated by Anecdote 1180 in the *Ḥawāṣi*, corresponding to the Story of the Gardener and the Three Friends (*Mathnawī*, Bk II, v. 2167 *sqq.*).

Perhaps what has been said is enough to indicate the quality and extent of the author's researches and the value of his work to students of the history and literature of Islam

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.



PREFACE

مقدمه

For years the literature of Persia has attracted the attention of European scholars in particular, so much so that a large body of critiques and studies has been produced. But it is worthy of notice that it is more the poetry of Persia than prose that has been the subject of research and appreciation. No doubt scholars like Schefer, Lees, Elliot, Browne, Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad Khán, Professors Barthold and Nicholson and others have brought to light many a forgotten standard work and have also edited them, but the quantity of prose that has come within their purview is insignificant as compared with the poetic literature that has been the subject of Oriental scholarship. Not that the Orientalists have any particular intellectual or aesthetic distaste for prose or that material is not ready to hand. In spite of the great scourge of 1265 A.D. which afflicted Persia and its intellectual and literary life and resulted in the destruction of countless invaluable works, there still exists a considerable amount of prose literature that can be profitably utilised by modern scholarship. Indeed it is gratifying to note that an increasing and deserved attention is now being given to it.

One of the monumental works that have survived the Mongol Invasion is that great Collection of Anecdotes, the *Fawámi'u'l-Hikáyat wa Lawámi'u'r-Riwáyat of Sadídu'd-Dín Muḥammad-'Awfí*, to which the following pages serve as an analytical *Introduction*. The great importance of this work is indicated in Chapter II; may this *Introduction* to it prove, in even so small a measure, a source of help and assistance to all those who may be engaged in research in the different branches of Islamic history, literature, and science.

I wish I could have published the whole or a part of the original text of 'Awfí along with this *Introduction*, but it appears that a few more years will have to elapse before I can finally edit it and see it through the press.

Before concluding, it is my chief duty to acknowledge all my obligations. I have dedicated this work to two persons, one, my late revered father Muḥammad Ghiyáthu'd-Dín, who inspired in me from my childhood a love for literature, the other, the late Professor Browne, who at the close of his memorable life, during the four years I worked under him at Cambridge, generously afforded me incalculable guidance in the pursuit of knowledge. As they are no longer living in body, may my humble effort win their spiritual approbation and blessing. These are not my only benefactors.

H. E. H. the Nizám's government awarded me a special European Scholarship allowance which enabled me to carry on my researches in various Eastern and Western countries. To my Alma Mater, Cambridge, I owe my doctorate. The Trustees of the Gibb Memorial Fund have shown admirable generosity in publishing my Thesis in their Series. Prof. Nicholson, whom once the late Prof. Browne called the "godfather" to my work, stands foremost among those who have helped me in my studies. From the stage of manuscript to the correction of the last proofs, Dr. Nicholson has bestowed on the work such considerable pains and personal interest that words fail me to give adequate expression to my sense of gratitude towards him. There is another benefactor, Áqá Mírzá Muḥammad Khán of Qazwín, whose name I mention with deep reverence. It was he who when I met him in Paris broadened my vision of historical criticism and widened the horizon of the present work. To Sir Denison Ross, Professors Margoliouth, Barthold, Marquart, Kratchkovski, Thomas, Massignon, Messrs Edwards, Ellis, Storey, Blochet, Krenkow, Wharton, and Prof. Iqbál of Lahore I am indebted in various ways. I cannot end without expressing my sense of obligation to all those authors whose works I have consulted and the various librarians through whom Mss. and works of reference were made available to me. Nor can I forget two of my pupils, 'Abdu'l-Jalíl and Bindú Madhua, who have so dutifully helped me in the preparation and correction of the proofs of the Index.

I regret that in spite of the efforts of several careful proof-readers, a number of mistakes have crept into the book, so that I have found it necessary to add a list of corrigenda. I hope and trust that any mistakes which may have escaped my notice will be kindly overlooked by indulgent readers.

Maḥbúb Vale, Ḥaydarábád-Dn.

22 Feb. 1929.

M. NIZÁMU'D-DÍN.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

- P. 6, l. 15 *Omit* [چون] from the first hemistich; n. 5 *read wa* for *wu*.
- " 7, " 15 *Add* شهر سنه.
- " 8, " 7 *Read* Majdu'd-Dîn; l. 14 *read* 1300.
- " 12, n. 1 " Pt. II; the last footnote should be numbered 9.
- " 14, n. 9 " *Iranischen*.
- " 15, l. 21 " روت *for* روت.
- " 16, " 15 " روزی *for* روزی.
- " 19, " 19 " Chingiz; n. 4 Lakhnaw.
- " 24, " 20 " are *for* is.
- " 25, " 8 " Jâhiz; l. 10 Dioscorides *for* Democrates.
- " 26, " 14 " younger.
- " 27, " 36m " In *for* In.
- " 28, " 2 " Khwând-amîr; l. 41 -Mutawakkil.
- " 31, " 16-17 (973 A.H. = 1565 A.D.) is the date of the death of Şâlih b. Jalâl and not of Sultân Bayazîd.
- " 32, " 5 *Read* (D. f 71a. IV, xvii. 1976) *for* D. f 69b, etc.
- " 36, " 25 " Radhiyyu'd-Dîn.
- " 39, " 6 " Nu'mân.
- " 43, " *Omit* -Turkistân from the heading of the page.
- " 48, n. 11 *Read* Miskawayh.
- " 49, l. 21 " Abû 'Alî ibn Muqla.
- " 50, " 10 " Azhar Mosque *for* Khedivial Library.
- " 50, n. iii " Ms. contains.
- " 51, n. 9 " برداخته *for* برداخته p. 52, last line of the same note, *read* در ثعالی *and omit* after برداخته.
- " 56, l. 30 " Naşr b. Aḥmad *for* Aḥmad by Naşr.
- " 63, " 34 " Mas'ûd's.
- " 70, " 28 " Dhu'n-Nûn.
- " 71, n. 2, l. 4 *Omit* his collaborator *before* Mîrzâ Muḥammad.
- " 74, n. 1, l. 2 *Read* بخوبترین *for* بخوبترین; l. 4 emendation, در وی مثال را نسخه مجال.
- " 76, n. 3 " facs. *for* fasc.
- " 79, n. 1 " and *for* aud.
- " 80, n. 1, l. 4 " Quṭbu'd-Dîn.
- " 95, l. 25 " Qūhistānî.
- " 99, " 29 " 'Ubaydu'llah.
- " 102, n. 7 " 1866.
- " 112, n. 3 *Add* تسع *after* تسع.

P. 141,	Anec	26	<i>Read</i> 'Abdu'llah b Muhammad Abu'l-'Abbas as-Saffah
" 142,	"	50	" Sayf
" 143,	"	72	probably 'Uqba b Abi Mu'ayt.
" 144,	"	94	<i>Omit</i> b. <i>after</i> Abu Sulayman.
" 145,	"	104	<i>Read</i> <i>f</i> N. U <i>for</i> <i>f</i> . N V.
" 146,	"	125-128	" Dhahhak
" 148,	"	177	" the son and the grandson of Bahram.
" "	"	179	" Sukhuria <i>for</i> Sawajir
" "	"	184	" Buzurjmihr.
" 158,	"	500	" Isma'il b Ahmad <i>for</i> Isma'il b Nasr.
" 162,	"	595	" Abu Ayyub Sulayman Wahb <i>and omit</i> Sulayman b. Wahb <i>after</i> his son
" "	"	606	" Yahya b. Khalid <i>for</i> Yahya b Fadhl.
" 165,	"	661	" Ahnaf b. Qays <i>for</i> Qays b. Ahnaf
" "	"	670	" Qays b. Sa'd b 'Ubada.
" 166,	"	698	" Sulayman b. Muhammad
" 166-7,	"	699, 713-717	" Salih b. Nadh
" 167,	"	700, l. 1	" Layth, 713, l. 3, Kuthayy
" 168,	"	729	" the <i>for</i> The.
" 169,	"	751, l. 1	Probably the Wazir Abu'l-Hasan ibnu'l-Furat is meant, l. 2 <i>read</i> their <i>for</i> his, l. 3 Bu Sayqan, probably Wasif b. Suwartigin.
" 170,	"	755, l. 2	<i>Read</i> bowl of honey
" "	"	756, l. 3	" Caliph
" "	"	768, l. 1	" Ba'lbakk.
" 171,	"	781, l. 2	" Kawthar.
" 173,	"	831	" 'Isam.
" 174,	"	853, l. 1	" Qadh Sharik <i>for</i> Qadh Shurayh.
" "	"	861, l. 3	<i>Reading in the text</i> -Mansur <i>for</i> -Ma'mun.
" 176,	"	885, l. 1	<i>Read</i> Mu'awiya.
" "	"	887, l. 3	<i>Omit</i> al- <i>before</i> Harun, l. 4 <i>add</i> N. to S. N.
" 177,	"	920, l. 3	<i>Read</i> he <i>for</i> be, l. 4, <i>read</i> Qabil
" "	"	924, l. 2	<i>Omit</i> al- <i>before</i> Harun.
" 179,	"	951, l. 2	<i>Read</i> Ibn Khal. <i>for</i> Ibn Kh.
" 180,	"	987, l. 2	" sent <i>for</i> seut.
" 181,	"	988, l. 1	" 'Amr b. Mas'ada's, l. 3, army.
" "	"	997, l. 1	" title <i>for</i> title.
" "	"	1003, ll. 3-4	" Atharu'l-Wusara'.
" "	"	1006, l. 1	<i>Omit</i> the full stop <i>after</i> Jannabi
" 183,	"	1041, l. 3	<i>Read</i> Bahman <i>for</i> Bahrám.
" 184,	"	1055, l. 1	" bloodsucking <i>for</i> blooksucking.
" 188,	"	1126, l. 2	" Kimiya-i-Sa'adat.
" 189,	"	1130, 1134	<i>Omit</i> al- <i>before</i> Harun.
" "	"	1141	<i>Read</i> Buzurjmihr <i>for</i> Buzurjmihr.
" 194,	"	1231	" Kutabu Sharafu'n-Nabi.
" 203,	"	1395, l. 1	" Bukht-i-Nassar, l. 2, Irmiya.
" 206,	"	1450, l. 2	Probably Isfijáb <i>for</i> Sanjáb or Sinjáb. The same correction should be made on p. 158, Anec. 500, and p. 56, l. 32.
" 211,	"	1509, l. 1	<i>Read</i> Thumama.
" "	"	1519,	" 'Abbas b. 'Amr-i-Ghanawi <i>for</i> 'Abbás b. 'Umar.

- P. 213, Anec 1538, l. 1 *Read* Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, the son of the great Wazir.
 " 215, " 1559, l. 1 " Barmecides and ~~omit~~ brothers.
 " 217, " 1590, l. 1 " Nasibin.
 " 225, " 1688, l. 3 " friendship
 " 246, " 1946, l. 1 " Jalandhar.
 " 251, " 1989, l. 4 " Andulus
 " 252, " 2004, l. 10 *Add* a comma *after* pseudo-prophet.
 " 253, " 2010, l. 1 *Read* A Story of the
 " 254, " 2032, l. 2 " Andulus
 " 257, " 2066, l. 4 " nature *for* naturo.
 " 258, " 2068, l. 6 *For* Dhiya'u'd-Din, in *Lubab* Zaynu'd-Din, see p. 10, l. 4.
 " 259, " 2088, l. 1 *Read* euphemistic *for* euphemistic.
 " 260, " 2094, l. 1 " انا *for* انا.
 " " 2097, l. 2 " جدی *for* جدی.
 " " 2105, l. 1 *Read* Harun envies *for* Harun's envy.
 " 267, § 5 " Ziyarids.
 " " § 7 " Buwayhids
 " 269, l. 2 Insert a comma *after* 11, and *read* ascertaining.
 " " § 8 *Read* Ya'qub-i-Kashshafi *for* Ya'qub Kisa'i
 " 270, VII, l. 4 " arranged in sections IV, V and VI of
 " 273, " اختيارنامه ۸ | 1783 | 25b
 " " نوی نار ۹ | 1935 |
 " 276, *Add* 26 as No. of the Conspectus
 " 306, col. 2, l. 40 *Read* Sawajir (wrongly for Sukhurra)
 " 308, col. 2, l. 18 " Sukhurra

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Add. = Additional (Mark of the Mss. in the British Museum).

Aghani = *Kitab Aghani'l-Kabir* of Abu'l-Faraj-Isbahani, Bulaq, 1868

Ansab = *Kitabu'l-Ansab* of 'Abdu'l-Karim b. Muhammad -Sam'ani, (Facsimile, Gibb Memorial Series), Leyden, 1912

Ar. = Arabic

Asia. Muz = Asiatsky Muzei, Petriograd.

A T A = 'Attar, (Faridu'd-Din), *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya*, ed R. A Nicholson, (Persian Historical Text Series), Leyden, 1905, 1907

B. A. B. or *Áthar* = -Biruni, Abu Rayhan, *Átharu'l-Baqiya 'an-Qur'uni'l-Khaliya*, Arabic text ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1876—78.

Bib. Geog. Arab = Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, ed M. J de Goeje, Lugduni Batavorum.

Bib Indica = Bibliotheca Indica Series, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta

Bib Nat. = Bibliothéque Nationale, Paris.

Bodl. Lib = Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Br. Mus. = British Museum, London.

Brock = Carl Brockelmann

Brock *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, Weimar and Berlin, 1898—1902.

B T F. = Briggs's edition of *Ta'rikh-i-Furishia* of Muhammad Qasim b Hindushah Astarabadi, Bombay, 1831.

B T. G. = E. G Browne's abridged translation of *Ta'rikh-i-Gusida*, Gibb Series, Leyden, 1913.

B. I. H. or *Indica* = -Biruni, Abu Rayhan, *Kitabu'l-Hind or Kitab fi Tahqiqi-ma li'l-Hind* etc. Arabic text, ed. E. Sachau, London, Gottingen, 1887.

B. T. M. = Bayhaqi, Abu'l-Fadhl, *Ta'rikh-i-Mas'ud*, ed. W. N. Lees (Bibliotheca Indica Series) Calcutta, 1862.

Cat. = *Catalogue*.

Cat. Pers. Mss Br. Mus. = *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, by Charles Rieu, London, 1879—83.

D. H. H. = -Damiri, *Hayatu'l-Hayawani'l-Kubra* (Arabic Text, Bulaq).

D N. D. = Dimashqi, Shamsu'd-Din Abu 'Abdu'llah Muhammad b. Abi Talib, *Nukhbatu'd-Dahr fi 'Aja'ibi'l-Barri wa'l-Bahr*, ed. A. F. M. Mehren, 1866.

D. T. S. = Dawlatshah, *Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'ara*, ed. E. G. Browne, (Persian Historical Text Series).

Eclipse = *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* (Supplement to the *Tajdribu'l-Umam* of Miskawayh, Arabic text, ed. D. S Margoliouth).

Ency. Brit. = *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, XI Edition.

Ency. Islam = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

Fihrist = *Kitabu'l-Fihrist* of Ibnu'n-Nadim (Muhammad b. Ishaq b. Abi Ya'qub -Warrāq, -Baghdadi), ed. G. L. Flugel.

- Gh.* or *Ghurar* = *Histoire des Rois de Perse*, or *Ghuraru Akhbāri Mulūki'l-Fursi wa Siyari-him* of Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abdu'l-Malik Ath-Tha'ālībī, ed. H. Zotenberg, Arabic Text, Paris, 1900.
- G. I. P.* = *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, ed. Geiger and Kuhn.
- H. Khal.* = Ḥājji Khalfa, Kātib Chalapī, *Kashfu'z-Zunūn*, ed. G. L. Flügel.
- H. N. Q.* = Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī, *Nuṣṣatu'l-Qulūb*, Persian text, ed. Guy Le Strange (Gibb Series).
- H. S. R.* = Ibn Hishām, *Stratu Rasūlillāh*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld.
- H. T. Q.* = Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī, *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, (Facs. Gibb Series).
- H. T. S.* = Ḥamza b. Ḥasan -Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh-i-Sini Muluki'l-Arāḥ wa'l-Anbiyā'* (Káviání Press, Berlin, 1340 A. H.).
- Ibn Khal.* = Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayātu'l-A'yan*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld.
- Imp. Publ. Bib.* = Imperatorskaya Publichnaya Biblioteka, Petrograd, now Leningrad.
- Imp. Sank. Uni.* = Imperatorsky Sanktpeterburgsky Universitet Library, Petrograd, now Leningrad.
- Ind. Off.* = India Office Library, London.
- JASB.* = *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.
- Jawāmi'* = *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwayāt* of 'Awfī. (For Mss. used, see the list on p. 111).
- J. K. H.* = Jāhiz, *Kitābu'l-Hayawān*, Cairo, 1325 A. H.
- J. N. U.* = Jāmi, *Nafahātu'l-Uns* (Lees's Persian Series).
- JRAS.* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.
- Kāmil* = *-Kāmil fi'l-Ta'rikh* of Ibnu'l-Aṭṭār, ed. C. J. Tornberg, 1867—71.
- Kh. H. S.* = Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabibu's-Siyar*, Bombay, litho. 1857.
- L. E. C.* = *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Guy Le Strange (Cambridge University Press).
- Lit. His. Persia* = *Literary History of Persia*, by E. G. Browne.
- Lubāb* = *Lubābu'l-Albāb* of 'Awfī, ed. Browne, vols. I—II (Persian Historical Text Series).
- M. A. T.* or *Asrār* = Muḥammad b. -Munawwar, *Asrārul-Tawhīd fi Maqāmāt-i-Shaykh Abi Sa'īd*, ed. Zhukovski.
- M. K. B.* = Maqdīsī, Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *Kitābu'l-Bad'i wa'l-Ta'rikh* or *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire*, ed. Cl. Huart, Arabic Text, 4 vols, Paris 1899—1907.
- M. M. Dh.* = Mas'ūdī ('Alī b. Ḥusayn), *Murūju'dh-Dhahab* or *Les Prairies d'Or*, Arabic Text, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris.
- M. R. S.* = Mīrkhwān, *Rawḍhatu's-Ṣafā*, Lucknow Litho., 1874.
- M. T. I.* = Mas'ūdī ('Alī b. Ḥusayn), *Kitābu'l-Tanbīh-wa'l-Ishrāf*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bib. Geog. Arab., vol. VIII.
- M. T. N.* = Minhāju'd-Dīn ('Uthmān b. Sirāju'd-Dīn-Jūzjānī), *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, ed. W. N. Lees, Bib. Indica Series.
- Nishwār* = *Nishwāru'-Muḥaddhara*, Arabic Text, ed. by Margoliouth.
- N. S. N.* = Nizāmu'l-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, Persian Text, ed. C. Schefer, Paris.
- Or.* = Oriental (Mark of the Mss. in the British Museum).
- Pers.* = Persian.
- Pet.* = Petrograd.
- Q. A. B.* = Qazwīnī (Zakariyyā), *Aṭṭārū'l-Bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848.
- Q. A. M.* = Qazwīnī (Zakariyyā), *'Ajā'ibu'l-Makhlūqāt*, Arabic Text, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1847.
- Q. K. M.* = Ibn Qutayba, *Kitābu'l-Ma'arif*, Arabic Text, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Litho., Göttingen, 1850.
- Q. T. H.* = Ibnu'l-Qiftī (Jamālu'd-Dīn), *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903.
- Q. U. A.* = Ibn Qutayba, *'Uyūnu'l-Akḥbār*, ed. C. Brockelmann.
- R. Q.* = *Risālatu'l-Qushayriyya* of 'Abdu'l-Karīm b. Hawāzin -Qushayrī, Būlāq, 1287 A. H.
- S. J. M.* = *Strat Jalālu'd-Dīn Mankubirni*, Arabic Text, ed. O. Houdas, Paris, 1891.

- S. K. M. = Sijistání (Abú Hátim), *Kitábu'l-Mufammarín*, ed. Ign. Goldziher, Leyden, 1899.
- S. S. N. = *Supplément Siasset Naméh* (Texte Persan) by C. Schefer, Paris, 1897.
- Suppl. = Supplement.
- Tab. or Tabari = *Ta'rikhu 'r-Rusuli-wa'l-Mulúk* of Muḥammad b. Jarir -Tabari, ed. de Goeje, Leyden.
- Tabari-Uebersetzung = *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden. Aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt*, von Th. Nöldeke, Leyden 1879.
- T. F. S. or Faraj = Tanúkhí, Muḥassin, *Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, Arabic Text, Cairo 1903, 1904.
- T. F. F. = *Tarikh-i-Fahán-gushd-i-Fuwayní*, ed. Mírzá Muḥammad Qazwíní, Gibb Series, 1912, 1916.
- T. S. N. = *Translation of Siasset Naméh* in French by C. Schefer, Paris, 1893.
- Turkistán = *Turkistán at the time of the Mongol Invasion*, Russian edition, W. Barthold.
- U. Q. N. = 'Unṣuru'l-Ma'álí, *Qábús-náma*, Tíhrán Litho., 1285 A. H.
- U. T. A. = Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a, *Ṭabaqátu'l-A'ibbá'*, Cairo and Königsberg, 1884.
- Wüst = H. F. Wüstenfeld.
- Wüst. Gesch. = *Die Geschichtschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke*, by Wüstenfeld.
- Y. I. A. = Yáqút, *Irshádu'l-Arib ilá Ma'rifati'l-Adib*, ed. Margoliouth, Gibb Series.
- Y. M. B. Yáqút, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldán*, ed. Wüstenfeld.
- Z. D. M. G. = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.
- Z. V. O. = *Zapiski Vostochnavo Otdyeleniya Imperatorskevo Russkavo Arkheologicheskavo Obshchestva*.

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مَا أَبْصَرْتُ أَيَّامَ عُمُرِي طَرَفِي * قَرَمًا كَرِيمًا كَأَسَدٍ الْعَوْفِي^١

CHAPTER I.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THE
AUTHOR ṢADĪDU'D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD
B. IMĀM SHARAFU'D-DĪN ABŪ ṬĀHIR YAḤYĀ B. ṬĀHIR B.
‘UTHMĀN AL-‘AWFĪ, AL-BUKHĀRĪ: - HIS CORRECT *LAQAB* -
THE THREE PERIODS OF HIS LIFE - A REVIEW OF
HIS WORKS (pp. 3—20).

OBSERVATIONS ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THE AUTHOR.

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fresh contribu-
tion towards
the life of the
author

Through the publication of the first part of the *Lubābu'l-Albāb*¹⁾ of our author, many incidents of his life have been revealed in the masterly introduction of Mīrza Muḥammad Khān of Qazwīn, and in fact his research is an advance upon that of Nathaniel Bland²⁾, Charles Rieu³⁾, Prof E G Browne⁴⁾ and Th. W. Juynboll⁵⁾, the present notice is a continuation of the above, and is chiefly based on a closer study of the three works of our author, viz, the above-mentioned *Lubāb*, the Persian Translation⁶⁾ of at-Tanukhī's *al Faraj ba da'sh-Shidda*, by our author, and the *Jawāmi u'l-Hikāyat*⁷⁾, the present work, which we mean to discuss in this *Introduction*.

Investigation
of three pro-
blems

In this estimate of the life and works of al-'Awfī, only those points are discussed which were doubtful, and required a thorough investigation, e.g. his real title, the actual period of his life, and his literary career. For the first point documentary evidence is recorded and examined, for the second, an attempt is made to adduce circumstantial evidence, in order to determine the distinct phases into which his life falls, and for the third, a critical estimate of his individual works is affixed.

THE CORRECT LAQAB OF THE AUTHOR.

Discussion on
his Laqab, as
Sadīdu'd-Dīn,
not Nūru'd-Dīn
nor Jamālū'd-
Dīn

Until now, the *laqab* of the author Muḥammad al-'Awfī has been known as Nūru'd-Dīn, which is founded on a wrong basis. Surely al-'Awfī was known to his contemporaries as Sadīdu'd-Dīn, and how it was converted into Nūru'd-Dīn, one cannot say, probably the earliest authority for this innovation is that of Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī,

1) The *Lubābu'l-Albāb*, Pt I. ed. Prof. E G. Browne and Mīrzi Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb-i-Qazwīnī in 1906 A.D., Pt. II ed. Prof. E G Browne in 1903 A.D. (Persian Historical Texts Series), hereafter referred to as the *Lubāb*.

2) His article "On the Earliest Persian Biography of Poets", JRAS (1848) IX, pp. 111-6.

3) Description of [Add 16,862] Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II, pp. 749-51, 1881 A.D.

4) His article on "The Sources of Dawlatshāh", JRAS (1891) XXXI, pp. 45-7 and *List. Hist. Persia*, 1906 A.D. Vol. II, p. 477-9.

5) See his article on "Awfī" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (= *Enc. Islam*), Vol. I, p. 517. Although it appeared in 1911 A.D. and the above edition of the *Lubāb* is referred to in the bibliography, yet he seems to have utilised it but little.

6) A Critical Notice of al-'Awfī's Persian Translation of at-Tanukhī's *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, by the present writer, is incorporated in this work. See below, pp. 14-9.

7) Hereafter referred to as the *Jawāmi*, or denoted by letters of the alphabet in case of individual Mss., along with folio numbers, Part (قسم), Chapter (باب), and Anecdote (حكاية) according to the serial numbers used throughout the accompanying *Complete Table of Contents*, e.g., (A. f 215b. I. xvii. 984), (D. f 207a. III. v. 1588).

but we possess ample proofs to the contrary, and even contemporary documentary evidences regarding his correct *laqab* as Sadīdu'd-Dīn.

The endorsement of a contemporary

The latter statement is based, firstly, on an extract from a subscription to al-'Awfī's Persian Translation of *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*¹⁾, which runs as follows: — [Ind. Off. 1432] = Ethé's Cat. No. 737 f 456b-f 457a.

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« فصل، باز میساید اصغر العید محمد [ن] عمر [ن] محمد مرقدی که کاتب المرج بعد التثنية است... که بدین بحکم وقایع ایام و حوادث روزگار ازین حضرت ما جلال لازال محبوبة العز والاقبال بطرف نهرواله و حدود سواحل دریای محیط افتاد بموصی که آن [را] کسایت میخواند فاضی امام اعتر اخض انجد انرف سدید الملك و الذین ظهیر الاسلام و المسلمین واعظ الملوك و السلاطین متنی النظم و الترمك الکلام افضل العالم محمد العوفی یدم الله ایامه روزی جد آنما سکوت ساخته بود نسب احتلاط و ماسطت که بد را نا او یود²⁾ ائتلافی میداشت³⁾ » الخ 10

This endorsement of a contemporary establishes beyond doubt, the title by which al-'Awfī was known in his own times, actually his title was Sadīdu'd-Dīn and not Nūru'd-Dīn as the later authorities are inclined to believe. There has been a great confusion about it from the earliest down to modern times; Hamdu'llah Mustawfī al-Qazwīnī being the first author to give an account of him, a very short one, in his *Ta'rikh-i-Gusida* (see facs., p. 811). This history was composed in 730 A. H = 1330 A. D., that is to say a century after the death of al-'Awfī, and in it he mentions his title as Nūru'd-Dīn, in which he has been followed by all the later writers, except H. Khalfa (Vol. II, p. 510 No. 3899) whose knowledge of al-'Awfī's works is very inaccurate, and who mentions his title as Jamālu'd-Dīn. This error has multiplied, as we find Flügel (Vienna Cat. [Persisch 422] Vol. I, p. 410) and a host of other Orientalists incorrectly describing the authorship and dedication of the *Ḥawāṣi*. 15

Recognition of it by the author himself

There is no mention in the text of the *Lubāb* or in the oldest and most reliable Mss. of the *Ḥawāṣi*, of his title as Nūru'd-Dīn, except in F.⁴⁾ on f 135b, which is an abridged and supplemented codex. On the other hand, the title of al-'Awfī as Sadīdu'd-Dīn is confirmed by another authentic record concerning al-'Awfī, i.e., a line preserved in the *Lubāb* (I, p. 158-9) which occurs in a communication addressed by a friend of al-'Awfī, called Muhaddhabu'd-Dīn Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī al-Asfuzārī⁵⁾ (or Asfizarī), and is acknowledged by the author: 25

« مَا أَنْصَرْتُ أَيَّامَ غُيْرِي طَرْفِي * فَرَمًا كَرِيمًا كَالسَّيِّدِ الْعَوْفِي »

30

The words *Sadīd* and *'Awfī*, which occur in the last hemistich with the definite article, are not merely ornamental, but they form a part of the author's full name; thus the shortened *laqab* and *nisba* are very aptly combined here.

¹⁾ Two Mss. of this work, both containing the second half of the translation were discovered by the present writer in the India Office Library. [Nos. 1432; 720.]

²⁾ See below, p. 16-7 for a complete and emended text of this extract.

³⁾ See below, Ch. IV, No. 6 in the *Chronological Table and Descriptive List* of all the known Mss. of the *Ḥawāṣi*, where a fuller description of this Ms. is given.

⁴⁾ See Yāqūt, *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān* ed. Wustenfeld (= Y.M.B.) Vol. I, p. 248, also, "Lands of the Eastern Caliphate", by Mr. Guy Le Strange (= L.E.C.) p. 340.

* As recorded in the [Supplement Persian 95] Bib. Nat. Paris.

In support of this argument, the second oldest extant Ms. of the *Ḥawāṣi* = B. dated 717 A.H. can also be adduced. In the body of the text at the end, on f 289b in conclusion the author calls himself *Sadīd-i-ʿAwfī*, and on the frontispiece f 1a. of this Ms. the following words are written in the gilded border decoration.

« کتاب حوامع الحکایات و لواجم الزیارات من تصانیف الامام ابن الامام حجة الاسلام سدید الملة و الدین محمد العوفی رحمه الله رحمة واسعة » and again on f 202b. « اسم الله الرحمن الرحیم، [ال] قسم الثالث من کتاب حوامع الحکایات (f 203a) من مصنفات حجة الاسلام سدید الدین محمد العوفی قس الله روحه العزیز »

As duly acknowledged in the *Tajdribu's-Salaf*.

The fourth item of evidence in proof of his title as *Sadīdu'd-Dīn* is based on the three quotations in the *Tajdribu's-Salaf*¹⁾, the enlarged Persian translation of the *Kitābu'l-Fakhri*, by Hindūshāh b. Sanjar al-Kirānī aṣ-Ṣaḥibī, who composed this work about 724 A.H. = 1324 A.D. In two of these quotations from the *Ḥawāṣi* he acknowledges in clear words the title of the author as *Sadīdu'd-Dīn*:

« و امام سدید الدین محمد بن [محمد] عوفی ره در کتاب حوامع الحکایات گفته است »
« چنانکه در حوامع الحکایات مرحوم سدید الدین محمد عوفی بجاری رحمه الله آورده است »²⁾

In point of time Hindūshāh is as much later as Ḥamdu'llah, but the former acknowledges the title of the author, and quotes correctly, whereas the latter in his *Nuḥatu'l-Qulūb* 15 borrows from the *Ḥawāṣi*, yet mentions neither the *laqab* nor the *nisba* of the author. Perhaps the only passage that supports the claims of later writers³⁾ who give his title as *Nūru'd-Dīn* is this:

« محمد العوفی لفته نور الدین صاحب کتاب حوامع (الحکایات و) الحکایات در اوّل دولت مغول در گذشت »⁴⁾

This short and unsatisfactory notice in the *Ta'rikh-i-Gusida* is contrary to the weighty 20 arguments advanced in proof of his correct title as *Sadīdu'd-Dīn*; hence Ḥamdu'llah's version deserves very little credit, and henceforward his *laqab* will be regarded as *Sadīdu'd-Dīn*.

Determination of the Periods of his life.

Before proceeding to discuss the actual details of our author's life, it is necessary to determine the probable dates of his birth and death, but in this direction only 25 internal and external evidence can be brought forward, and only approximate limits can be fixed, for we are not possessed of conclusive dates.

The earliest limit.

In the year 597 A.H. = 1200/1 A.D., we find him vigorous⁵⁾, coming out of his native town Bukhārā, as an accomplished scholar, and appearing at the court of the Sultan Jalālu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn Ṭamghāj Khān of Samarqand, who reigned 30 574–597 A.H. = 1178/9–1200/1 A.D., and having literary discussions in the company of teachers and learned men like the Amīr 'Amīd Bahā'u'd-Dīn, the tutor to the Prince Nuṣratu'd-Dīn Qīlij Arslān Khāqān 'Uthmān⁶⁾, whose reign terminated about 609 A.H. =

¹⁾ See Prof. E. G. Browne's article in the Centenary Supplement of the JRAS Oct. (1924) pp. 245–255.

²⁾ See [Browne Or. G. 3] *Tajdribu's-Salaf*, t 34a and f 138b.

³⁾ See below, pp. 26–32 on the influence of the *Ḥawāṣi* on later works.

⁴⁾ See facs., p. 811. Cf. also *Lubāb*, Persian Introduction p. marked ٢٤, where this quotation occurs with little variations.

⁵⁾ (A. f 246a. I. xxiv. 1137–8) Reminiscences of youth.

⁶⁾ See *Lubāb*, Pt. I, pp. 44–46, also *Ḥawāṣi* (D. f 80a. IV. xx. 2008) as to the correct interpretation of the line of the poet Manṣūr-i-Manṭiqī.

1212/3 A.D. and whom he thinks to be 15 years old at that time. It is natural enough that al-ʿAwfī, after his long studies in Bukhārā, should have attained an age of 25–30 years, after which he started on his literary tour, or in search of some position at the courts of the different princes, to which he pays visits in turn, as we shall notice presently; therefore on this hypothesis his birth can be placed between 567 and 572 5 A.H. = 1171/2–1176/7 A.D.

The latest limit.

Whereas in the *Ḥawāṣī*¹⁾ there are conclusive proofs that our author lived up to 630 A.H., one significant line in the *memoria technica* of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs suggests a much longer period than what is supposed. Our author has written the accounts of the 36 Caliphs of the ʿAbbāsīd line, and has brought down the history 10 to the Caliphate of al-Mustanṣir, (623–640 A.H.), from whom his patron-monarch Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish received the nominal insignia of office in 626 A.H., in order to establish friendly relations between Baghdād and Dihlī (A. f 118b. l. v. 362) but it appears that this line was added later on and the discrepancies were overlooked.

« مستصر م [جون] گذشت مستصم آمد بجای : عمر درازش دهاد خالق عرش مکین » 15

Approximate age 60 years.

The persistence with which thirteen Mss repeat this line makes one believe that the author lived at longest until the accession of al-Mustʿāsim, the last of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs, and added this line about 640 A.H. = 1242 A.D. Thus the period of his life falls roughly speaking between 567 and 640 A.H. = 1172–1242 A.D., or 572–635 A.H. = 1176/7–1232/3 A.D. which is probably nearer the truth. According to the latter 20 reckoning al-ʿAwfī lived a little less than 60 lunar years.

Divisions of his life-period

This period of about 60 years is marked by three distinct phases of his life:

- I. Birth, childhood, and early education *i.e.*, 572–597 A.H. = 1176–1200 A.D. in Transoxiana, mostly in Bukhārā his native town.
- II. Itinerary period, *i.e.*, 597–617 A.H. = 1200–1220 A.D. from his first appea- 25 rance at Samargand, up to the time of settling at the court of Malik Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qabācha al-Muʿizzī, the ruler of Sind.
- III. The period of literary productivity, *i.e.*, 617–630 A.H. = 1220–1232/3 A.D. from the composition of the *Lubāb* until the completion of the *Ḥawāṣī*, and even later. 30

His childhood and early education.

As regards the first period of our author's life very little is known, except from incidental references in the *Lubāb* and the *Ḥawāṣī*. The earliest mention of his childhood is made by himself in the *Lubāb*²⁾ and in the *Ḥawāṣī* (D. f 207a. III. v. 1588) (D. f 187b. II. xxiv. 1524). As we know from the biography in the *Lubāb*³⁾ and from Taqī Awḥadī's *Tadhkirah*⁴⁾, the person referred to in the passages cited from the 35 *Ḥawāṣī* is al-ʿAwfī's grandfather Sharafu'd-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Yaḥya b. Ṭāhir b. ʿUṭhmān al-ʿAwfī, but unfortunately the date of his death is not known; otherwise we could

¹⁾ (D. f 260. III. xviii. 1720), see below, p. 20; allusion to the rebellion of Balkā in 628 A.H. as an event of the past.

²⁾ *Ḥawāṣī* (A. f 102a. I. v. 281) Variations in later Mss. but most of the old Mss. agree in this reading, except that the word مستصم is confused with مستصم, but in B. f 61b and G. f 65a مستصم is clearly written.

³⁾ Pt. II, p. 163, ll. 13–17, « اما شرف الدین مسعودی اگر چه بک کردک غرد و او بهر بزرگ بود »

⁴⁾ Pt. I, pp. 178–9.

⁵⁾ Called the *ʿUrfāt wa Ghurfāt-i-ʿAshiqīn*, see [Ind. Off. 3654] f 60b, and JRAS. (1848) IX, p. 115.

have had a definite point to start from. At any rate our author was still a child, as we find him later acquiring the rudiments of knowledge under great teachers like Ruknu'd-Dīn¹⁾ Mas'ūd Imamzādah of Bukhárá, in a school at Dar-i-Farijak²⁾ (A. f215 b. I, xvii, 984), and again we find him reading the *Fā'iḡ* of az-Zamakhsharí, under another eminent doctor of law and a notable of the Áli-i-Burhán called Táju'd-Dīn³⁾ 'Umar b. Mas'ūd, a contemporary of Qilij Ṭamghaj Ibráhīm and his son referred to above, and later we find him also reading under Quṭbu'd-Dīn⁴⁾ as-Sarakhsí the calligrapher, the transcriber of the *Lughát-i-Azhari*, and the Keeper of the Sarpul Bázarcha Library of Bukhárá, and giving a faint recollection of Shamsu'd-Dīn⁵⁾ Muḥammad ad-Daqa'iqí al-Marwazí, and of Sharafu'd-Dīn⁶⁾ b. Fakhru'd-Dīn Mas'údí, and¹⁰ of his early association with a contemporary⁷⁾ when they had both committed to memory the *Jámi'u's-Saghír* of the Qádhí Fakhru'd-Dīn Ján; and probably the last reference to his educational period occurs in the biography of the poet Ashrafi-i-Samarqandí, about whom he writes the following:

«و در تهور سبع و نعين و خمس مائه اورا در بخارا در مدرسه سنيه ديه آمد و اروي اين رباعي استماع افتاد»⁸⁾ آخ¹⁵

Itinerary
period.

The instances cited above are quite different from the nature of those that will follow in the real period of his literary tour, as all of them conform to the requirement of a beginner, and to the foundation of his future literary greatness, which he laid in his native town, just before starting on his tour about 597 A.H. The literary tour of our author extends over a period of 20 years, 1200–1220 A.D. The first part of²⁰ the *Lubāb* is in fact, from the autobiographic point of view, a faithful record of his activities⁹⁾ in Khurásán, and as Prof. Browne remarks¹⁰⁾, "His *Lubāb* may fairly be regarded as the *Kitābu'l-Aghāni* of Persia.... It contains notices of 122 royal and noble personages who occasionally condescended to write verse, and of about 163 poets by profession, of whom thirty belong to the Ṭáhirí, Šaffárí, and Sámání periods;²⁵ twenty-nine to the Ghaznaví period; and fifty to the Saljúq period; while some fifty-four are, roughly speaking, the author's contemporaries". The information for the above he collected during this period of his life. A rough outline of his tour is sketched below, in order to show the various places and eminent persons he visited. Like most of the learned men of his day our author was also seeking during his journeys a³⁰ suitable position for himself, as we shall notice presently.

Samarqand

At first he tries the court of the Ílak Kháns of Samarqand, where he held for sometime an honorary secretaryship¹¹⁾ and made important literary acquaintances of the circle of the court, like the Wazír of Samarqand Nizámu'l-Mulk Šadru'd-Dīn¹²⁾

¹⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. I, pp. 181–182; 339. *T./J.* Pt. I, p. 81. Killed in 617 A.H. by the Mongols in the sack of Bukhárá.

²⁾ A. f215 b. در مارك در مدرسه C. f59 b. در مارك در مدرسه; see, *Y.M.B.* Vol. III, p. 834; also *Ta'rikh-i-Bukhárá*, ed. C. Schefer p. 93 l. 21. مدرسه مارك. Once burnt in 325 A.H.

³⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. I, p. 170, ll. 9–10

⁴⁾ *Ibid.* Pt. I, pp. 210–1; 338; 346.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.* pt. I, p. 212, ll. 7–10.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.* Pt. II, p. 163, ll. 13–17, also above p. 6 n. 3.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.* Pt. II, p. 423, ll. 19–20; the name of this person is not found as the text is marred by a short lacuna.

⁸⁾ *Ibid.* Pt. II, p. 391, ll. 21–22.

⁹⁾ *Ibid.* Pt. I, p. 162, ll. 19–22.

¹⁰⁾ *JRAS.* (1899) XXXI, p. 46–47.

¹¹⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. I, p. 45, ll. 20–21.

¹²⁾ *Ibid.* Pt. I, p. 205–6; 346.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, the four Shamsu'd-Díns, the poets of the same *laqab*, and other eminent scholars, *viz*, Sharafu'd-Dín¹⁾ Ḥusám Muḥammad b. 'Abí Bakr an-Nasafí, a contemporary of the poets Kháqání and 'Umar Núqání, from whom he obtains permission for relating Traditions; and Šadru'd-Dín 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Khurramábádí²⁾, a panegyrist of the Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh³⁾ (reigned 596-617 A.H. = 1199-1220 A.D.) Although his maternal uncle Sharafu'z-Zamán Maju'd-Dín⁴⁾ Muḥammad b. 'Adnán as-Surkhakatí and his cousin were serving in that court as state physicians, and our author seemed to be satisfied with the agreeable company of the Prince, yet we find that his stay here was not prolonged, and once more he was setting out on his travels

In Khwárazm

After cultivating important acquaintances in Máwará'u'n-Nahr our author goes to Khwárazm. There is one important record of his stay in Khwárazm, which is found among the additional anecdotes, in the oldest Ms. of the *Farwázi*⁵⁾ (dated 699 A.H. = 1330 A.D.), which runs as follows. (A. f 185b. I. xiii. 728)

«چنین گوید (a) (كه) مؤلف كتاب كه در آن سال [كه] (b) این دعا گوی بخوارم بود و سلطان خوارزمشاه
بخراسان بود و در شهر خوارم هیچ لشکر نبود خداوند جهان كه مادر سلطان خوارزمشاه بود الاغی بخراسان فرستاد
تا سلطان را از رسیدن لشکر غریب اعلام دهد و آنگاه در شهر ندا كردند كه فرمان بر آن حمله است كه هیچ
كس دستار نبوتند كه حمله كلاه سیاه سرسپهر و سلاح در یوتند و هر چه در خوارم سلاح بود خلق حمله
بپوشیدند و حوذا ساخته بود از كاعد و تیر (c) در روی او (?) كتیك و مرد در شهر لشكر گاهی كردند كه سر ملك
20 دوراس (d) (e) میگشت و عطار از حساب آن عاخری آمد و سلطان تهید [معز الدنيا و الدین محمد] (f) امار الله
براهه را خبر داده بودند كه خوارزمشاه در شهر بیست و لشكر او عمرو و بشایور ست چون رسول سلطان بخوارم
رسید لشكری دید عظیم آراسته و لشكر گاهی تعابت اسبه و سلاح و اسب بسیار چون رسول رسید بعد از هفت
روز سلطان خوارزمشاه رسید و با وی سواری صد بیتش بود و بر عقب او لشكر از طرف ملك (g) بر وی آمد
و بدین حیات كه محدومه جهان كرد شهر خوارم از صولت سلطان تهید مصون (h) ماند و الله اعلم»

His stay coincides with this event.

In the above passage the date is not given, but from the historical events related in the preceding and succeeding anecdotes it can be established with certainty by references to other sources. According to the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahāngushā'-i-Juwayni*⁶⁾, the severest tension between the Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Dín Muḥammad (also called Shihābu'd-Dín) Ghūrī, (d. 602 A.H. = 1206 A.D.) and the Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh dates back to 598 A.H. = 1201/2 A.D., and the latest phase of this struggle, when the Ghūrīd Sultan was completely broken down, and gave up all hopes of Khwárazm and re-organised his defeated forces, and turned his thought finally towards India, occurs in 602 A.H., just before his death; and in the *Ta'rikh-i-Firishā'*⁷⁾ reference is made to one of the attacks on Khwárazm, in the following manner:

¹⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. I, pp. 164-5, 168.

²⁾ *Ibid*, Pt. I, p. 201. Pt. II, pp. 341-344.

³⁾ *Ibid*, Pt. I, pp. 179-180.

⁴⁾ ed. Mirzá Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Wahháb of Qazwín (= *T. J. J.*) Pt. II, p. 54, l. 15, p. 58, ll. 15-20.

⁵⁾ ed. J. Briggs = (*B. T. F.*) Vol. I, p. 103, cf. *Kāmil*, Vol. XII, pp. 114, 116, 117, 118, 121, 122.

(a) A. گوید.

(b) Superfluous.

(c) Added.

(d, e) Unintelligible.

(f) Added from the

context of the previous anecdote.

(g) A. مصور. Cf. text in *Turkistán*, Vol. I, p. 88, ll. 1-9.

«و درین اما خبر شهادت محمد حریک [حرک] حاکم مرو تیکه استعداد تمام در سه ۶۰۰ سنه به تسحر خوارزم رفت، خوارزمشاه تاب مقاومت نیاورده بخوارزم درآمد چون سلطان بخوارزم رسید در کار آنی که از جیحون طرف شرقی بخوارزم حلیجی کند آمد درود آمد و جد رور جنگها واقع شد جدی از امراء غور شهادت رسیدند» آخ [Add 18,875 Br Mus.] ff 83 = [Add. 6572 Br. Mus.] f 60a.

599-600 A.H.
is the year of
his stay

The attack of the Ghurid Sultan and the clever defence of the city of Khwárazm referred to in the anecdote must have happened before 600 A.H. From this it can be concluded that al-'Awfí was in Khwarazm at about this time, as it is in conformity with the stages of his tour shown above — that is to say, after leaving Samarqand he comes back to Bukhárá and goes to Khwarazm — and also because it corroborates the coming events, as he is seen in Shahr-i-Naw and Nasa in 600 A.H. Besides this, we find him attending some of the meetings of the famous disciple of Najmu'd-Dín Kubrá, the Shaykh Majdu'd-Dín¹⁾ Sharaf ibnu'l-Muayyad al-Baghdadí (of Khwarazm), (whose death is placed in 606; 607, 613, 616, A.H.), and narrating the personal relations of the Shaykh with Shihábu'd-Dín Abu Sad b. Umar al-Khiwaqí, the Wakíl of the Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwarazmsháh, on his own authority in the *Fará'id*²⁾ 15 (D. f 46. IV. i. 1792) «جامع³⁾ این حکایات محمد عوفی گوید وقتی تهاب الدین حبیبی که وکیل خاص در (D. f 46. IV. i. 1792) سلطان سکندر بود و بخدمت تیغ التیوح محمدالدین بعدادی نامه نوشت و درخواست کرد که بهت عالی مدد یابد and again in the same town he gets in touch with the Shaykhu'l-Islám Alá'u'd-Dín⁴⁾ al-Harithí from whom he obtains permission for relating Traditions. In spite of the fact that there is a notice of the Sultan Muḥammad⁵⁾ Khwarazmsháh and also of Bahá'u'd-Dín⁶⁾ Muḥammad ibnu'l-Muayyad al-Baghdadí in the *Lubáb*, we cannot say with certainty that our author was given a chance to appear at the court.

At Shahr-i-Naw, while on his way to Khurásan.

At any rate we find him in Shahr-i-Naw, the seat of the prince Nuṣratu'd-Dín⁷⁾ Kabúd Jáma (put to death by Khwárazmshah circa 600 A.H.) and trying to get an audience of the said prince, and complaining of the losses he had incurred in his travels (probably robbed by the Ghuzz while returning from Khwárazm). The prince being busy with his enjoyments sends word that he has no time for listening to sermons, and at his request⁸⁾ supplies him with a horse and assures him of reward in the future. Our author seems to have been disappointed in this journey, and appears in Khurásán for the first time at Nasá⁹⁾ in 600 A.H. From this point actually begins his tour throughout this province. Here, we find him meeting Muḥammad¹⁰⁾ b. Badf an-Nasawí, Majdu'd-Dín¹¹⁾ Muḥammad al-Páyizí, the panegyrist of the Sultan Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh, who was preparing a *Shóhínsháhnáma* of the Khwárazmsháhs when 'al-'Awfí met him in Nasá, and Zahiru'd-Dín¹²⁾ an-Nasawí called Walí, all famous poets of his day.

In Nishápur district.

At a time when Nishápur was flourishing under the rule of the Sultan 'Alá'u'd- 35

¹⁾ *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 230; 349—50.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 42—4.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 51—2.

⁷⁾ *Lubáb*, Pt. II, p. 345, ll. 9—10.

⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 345, ll. 8—11.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 209, ll. 13—5.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 139—42, 328 (alive in 588 A.H.).

⁶⁾ «هرچند که بر ساط نظریع هر * امروز شهم پناه [میاید] رفت»

⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 240 ll. 4—10.

¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 243, ll. 11—12. a) C.D.K.M. جامع.

Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh, and was celebrated for the great literary men that rose from its soil, our author is seen in this galaxy. In 603 A.H., according to his own statement in the *Jawāmiʿ* (D. f 93 b. IV. xxiv. 2068) he saw in Khujān (Khabūshān) at the school of Zaynu'd-Dīn¹⁾ Ṣāʿid, an ostrich which was with the Wakīl of Khwārazmshāh. At about the same time he goes to Isfarāʾīn, where he teaches the son of⁵ the famous secretary of the Sultan Khwārazmshāh, ʿImādu'd-Dīn²⁾ Muʾayyad b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāʾīnī. Then, he comes down to the city itself, and from several references to Nīshāpūr, it appears that al-Awfi stayed here for a considerable period, and probably it was the culminating point of his literary friendships. The different persons he saw at Nīshāpūr were either eminent state-officials or teachers or poets, as follows.

His contemporaries in Nīshāpūr.

Occasionally, as he says, he paid visits to Ṣadru'd-Dīn³⁾ an-Nīshāpūrī, the Ṣāhib-i-Dīwān-i-Istifā of the Sultan Khwārazmshāh, the history of whose dynasty he had composed; and again in the same place, he studies the important treatise on the art of writing called the *Ruqyatu'l-Qalam*⁴⁾ (ʿ), the composition of the secretary of the Sultan Sanjar, Muntajibu'd-Dīn Badʿ Atābek al-Juwaynī; and enters into conversation¹⁵ with the eminent Jamālu'd-Dīn⁵⁾ ʿAlī Lāhūrī, the secretary of Malik Muʾayyad, about the famous Ghūrīd secretary Farīdu'd-Dīn (also Shamsu'd-Dīn) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kāfī. At the same time he was preaching and trying his poetical skill in Arabic and Persian, as he refers to his own sermons and to Fakhru'd-Dīn Muḥammad as-Sarakhsī, against whose verses he matched his own in Nīshāpūr⁶⁾. Amongst others²⁰ with whom he was intimate, were the humourist Abu'l-Faḍl ʿUṭhmān⁷⁾ b. Aḥmad al-Harawī, nicknamed Kargas; and Abū ʿAlī⁸⁾ b. al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazī, the panegyrist of Khwārazmshāh; and the Amīr Qiwāmī⁹⁾ al-Khwāfī; and lastly Nizāmu'd-Dīn¹⁰⁾ al-Jāmī al-Kātib, who acquired prominence later at the court of Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh. Unfortunately he does not say anything about his relations with Farīdu'd-²⁵ Dīn¹¹⁾ ʿAṭṭār, who was also a contemporary and a native of Nīshāpūr.

On his way to Sijistān.

There is no record of his stay in Ṭūs and other important cities of the Nīshāpūr district, but it is quite likely that our author might have visited them during his rambles in Khurāsān. However, we see him in Herāt a little later, probably on his way to Sijistān, enjoying the company of Fakhru'd-Dīn¹²⁾ al-Khaṭṭāt al-Harawī, and of³⁰ Badru'd-Dīn¹³⁾ b. Nūru'd-Dīn al-Harawī, who recounts his own relations with ʿAlā'u'l-Mulk¹⁴⁾ Ḥiyā'u'd-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Jāmajī, the Wazīr of the Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh, whom al-Awfi himself sees later in Asfīzār, and whose generosity and piety he records in his biography¹⁵⁾. Only from this notice we can infer the approximate date of his stay in Sijistān. In one of the conversations with the Wazīr, it is³⁵ revealed that the Wazīr had a desire to see the learned people of Khurāsān and

¹⁾ Cf. *Lubāb*, Pt. I, p. 144.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 142; 143.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 121.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 346.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 357.

¹¹⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. II, p. 337. This biography, as most others, is devoid of biographical information, which al-Awfi could have easily supplied, at least in the case of ʿAṭṭār.

¹²⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 246.

¹³⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 250.

⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 147.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 78; also *T.J.J.*, Pt. I, ٢٠٠. Pt. II, p. 9.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 218—9; (A. f 94a, 96 b. I. v. 232, 246).

⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 339—40.

¹⁰⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 149; 151, also *T.J.J.* Pt. II, p. 81.

¹⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 250.

¹⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 111—3.

Transoxiana, which he fulfilled on the occasion of his journey to Khaṭá (Cathay). Now this incident is connected with the battle in Tīraz between Táyangu, the chief of the Qará Khaṭá, and the Sultan Muḥammad Khwarazmshah, which happened according to the *Fahāngush*¹⁾ and other authorities in the year 607 A.H. Therefore our author must have met the Wazír after that date. Sijistán at that time was under the rule of Malik Táju'd-Dín²⁾ Ḥarb, and the crown-prince was Yamínu'd-Dín Bahrámsháh who succeeded to his father's throne in 612 A.H. Thus our author's stay in Sijistán lies between these two dates, and this agrees with the other records of his tour in that country.

His literary
associations in
Sijistán.

The important acquaintances he makes at Asfizár are those of the above-mentioned Wazír, and his son³⁾, whose glorious deeds he was destined to record in later times. Besides collecting a few verses of the poet Shihābu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Humám from the Imám Sharafu'd-Dín⁴⁾ 'Anbarí, in Asfizár, he makes a very important friendship with Muhaddhabu'd-Dín⁵⁾ Maṣṣūr b. 'Alí al-Asfizárí, who has probably immortalised the name of al-'Awfí in the line cited below⁶⁾. Our author now comes down to Farah, while going to the capital of Sijistán, now called Zarnaj, and meets Sharafu'd-Dín⁷⁾ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Faráhi. In the seat of the government of Sijistán, he meets the egoist Shamsu'd-Dín⁸⁾ Muḥammad b. Naṣír as-Sijzí, and hears the famous remark about the three wonders of Sijistán, and then comes into close touch with the Jásusu'l-Aflák Farídu'd-Dín⁹⁾ 'Alí al-Munajjim as-Sanjarí (Sijzí) who was then living a secluded life, and gives a short account of his brother Naṣír Sha'rání, the Wazír of the country of Nímrúz; and also hears the verses of Shamsu'd-Dín¹⁰⁾ Mubaraksháh ibnu'l-A'azz as-Sanjarí (Sijzí)¹¹⁾, the panegyrist of the rulers of Sijistán.

End of his
wanderjahre
and return to
Bukhárá.

After this we do not know much about the wanderings of our author, although there is a vague reference¹²⁾ to Bámiyán, which does not necessarily indicate that our author had been there. Here, probably, ends the tour, and by this time our author, if not the acknowledged preacher, poet, and scholar of his day, is reckoned amongst the most eminent of his contemporaries. There is one significant reference to his return from Marw¹³⁾, by way of Ámway (Ámúl), which suggests the return of our author after his *wanderjahre*, to his native town, as the references that follow throw a good deal of light on a period which is quite different to the earlier one at Bukhárá. Firstly, he meets his old teacher now the Ṣadru'sh-Shar'fa of Bukhárá Burhānu'l-Islám Táju'd-Dín 'Umar b. Maṣ'úd (mentioned previously), and attempts a reconciliation¹⁴⁾ between him and his son, Nizāmu'd-Dín¹⁵⁾ Muḥammad b. 'Umar b.

1) *T.J.J.*, Pt. II, p. 77 and *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 321—2; also Pers. Int. footnote (2) to ز and ج.

2) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 49—50.

3) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 113—117; also below, p. 13, II. 35—8.

4) *Ibid.*, I, pp. 154—5.

5) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 158—9.

6) قَرَمَاكَرِنَا كَالسُّنْدُ الْهَوْنِي مَا أَتَصَرَّتْ أَلَمَ غَنِي طَرَفِي (see above, p. 4, II. 25—33).

7) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, p. 259.

8) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 251. «شیر و امیر و شعر این نصر»

9) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 347.

10) *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 348.

11) Sanjarí and Sijzí are always liable to be confused on account of clerical errors; here Sijzí seems more proper, on account of the association of these persons with Sijistán.

12) *Lubáb*, Pt. I, pp. 232—3.

13) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 176.

14) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 177.

15) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 175—178.

Mas'ūd, for whose unbecoming conduct towards his own parents al-'Awfī pleads on his behalf; secondly his way of alluding to Sa'du'd-Dīn¹⁾ Mas'ūd Dawlatyār, a client of the above-mentioned Tāju'd-Dīn, and his taking part with him in social intercourse with that personage, shows that our author had acquired a considerable importance by this time. Another proof of this is the congratulations sent to him by an eminent poet, the Ḥakīm Majdu'd-Dīn²⁾ Fahīmī al-Bukhārī, at the approach of the month of Ramadhān. Similarly, when the Muftī of Nakhshab (Nasaf) Shamsu'd-Dīn³⁾ Dā'ī al-Ḥusaynī an-Nasafī comes to Bukhārā, he says that he approached his holiness, and heard his verses, but he does not say whether he learnt anything from him, though it is always the habit of our author to acknowledge the benefits he derived from his seniors.

Unrest in
Khurāsān takes
him to India

We are in the dark as to when our author left Bukhārā for good, and what were the actual circumstances that drove him from Khurāsān; but as we know from his past career, he was always trying to get a footing in some court or other, for he had tried Samarqand, Khwārazm, Jurjān (Kabūd Jāma), and Sijīstān at one time or other, and probably could not find suitable prospects for himself. Apart from this, if we look into the history⁴⁾ of Khurāsān, about 615 A.H. we find that the empire of the Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh had outgrown its limits, the clouds were gathering, and the impending storm of the Mongols was about to burst, and most of the scholars and poets enticed by the recently established fame of the Indian princes were finding their way to that country⁵⁾; naturally, our author was also attracted by it. At about this time we find him in Ghazna — shorn of its glory and no longer the pride of either the Ghaznawids or the Ghūrīds — probably on his way to India, where he meets the poet Dhiyā'u'd-Dīn⁶⁾ Maḥmūd al-Kābulī, a younger contemporary of his; and then crossing the Indus⁷⁾, is seen for the first time in Lahore⁸⁾, associating as usual with poets and contemporaries⁹⁾ of more or less equal merit, who were then flourishing in that region. A little later we see him in Sind, then the dependency of Malik Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qabācha, which extended over a part of the modern Punjāb, and also included Sind and Gujrāt. This is the landmark of his journey, and the end of the second period of his life; by this time he is settled at the court of the ruler of Sind, under the patronage of the Wazīr 'Aynu'l-Mulk Fakhru'd-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Sharafu'l-Mulk Radhīyyu'd-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Ash'arī, and has begun his *Lubāb* (about 617 A.H.)

¹⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. I, pp. 387—8.

²⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 386.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, pp. 182—3.

⁴⁾ See the *Strat-i-Jalālu'd-Dīn Mankuburnī*, ed. O. Houdas, Arabic Text (= *S.J.M.*) p. 21, 35—7; also, *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, *Kāmil*, under the year 615 A.H.

⁵⁾ See *Tajū'l-Ma'athir* [Add. 7623. Br. Mus.] f 11a. The author known as Ḥasan Niẓāmī called Tāju'd-Dīn or (Ṣadrū'd-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan an-Niẓāmī, a native of Nishāpūr, expresses his regret at the bad condition of Khurāsān, on account of which he had to come to India. He dedicated this work to Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aybak, and brought down the history to 614 A.H. giving an account of the wars of Iluttmish also. See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* ed. W. N. Lees (= *M.T.N.*) p. 143—4 in proof of this statement, Minhāj-i-Sirāj being one of those who came to India in 624 A.H. and attached himself to the court of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qabācha, like our author.

⁶⁾ See *Lubāb*, Pt. II p. 416.

⁷⁾ The anecdote about his first experience of a compass or a magnetic needle in the *Jawāmi'* (D. f 78b, IV, xx, 1997) refers to a voyage.

⁸⁾ See *Lubāb*, Pt. II, p. 411.

⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 284—285.

Situation in
India after
607 A.H.

Before discussing the third period, which is that of al-ʿAwfī's literary productivity, it is necessary to say a few words about the political relations of India with Ghur, Ghazna, Khurāsān and Khwārazm. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nūṣīrī*, an important source for Indian affairs at this period, we find that, after the death of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aḡbak, in 607 A.H., the Turkish generals, who had once served under the Ghūrīd Sultans Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn (d. 599 A.H.) and Muʿizzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 602 A.H.) and even under Aḡbak, assumed independence and set up states of their own. Thus Naṣīru'd-Dīn Qabācha ruled in Sind; Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish became the virtual successor at Dihlī; the province of Lakhnawtī (in Bengal) was held by the Khalajīs; Lawhūr (or Lahore) was a bone of contention amongst Tāju'd-Dīn Yildiz, (who governed Ghazna), Iltutmish and Qabācha; and the kingdom of Ghūr was rent asunder by the strife of ʿAlā'u'd-Dīn Atsiz and ʿAlā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad, till the Sultan Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh wiped it out in 612 A.H.

Fate of the
last two Khwa-
razmshāhs.

According to Ibnu'l-Athīr¹⁾ and Muḥammad b. Aḡmad an-Nasawī²⁾, at this stage India comes in contact with the Mongols who burst on Khwārazmshāh, drove his family out of Khwārazm in 616 A.H., and chased him in Khurāsān, Māzandarān, and from place to place, till at last he took refuge in an island, called Ḥamāma, off the shore of the Caspian Sea and died there in 617 A.H. His gallant son, Jalālu'd-Dīn Mankubirni, unable to stem the tide of Chingiz's army, moved towards the south, and in 618 A.H., losing the battle fought on the upper bank of the Indus, crossed the Indus on horseback, seeking protection from the murderous foe, once at the hands of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Qabācha at Multān and then again of Iltutmish at Dihlī; both of them in turn afraid of the invasion of the Mongols, which was hanging over their heads, deserted the unfortunate monarch in the hour of his dire need. But Naṣīru'd-Dīn Qabācha could not escape the onset of the Mongols, as we find him besieged in Multān in 621 A.H. The rivalry of Iltutmish and Qabācha led to the overthrow of the latter and the supremacy of the former in 625 A.H. This period of the life of our author is intimately connected with the last event and he himself has portrayed it graphically in his Preface to the *Ṣawāmi* (A. ff 20-21). He also alludes once in the *Lubāb* (I, p. 182) and again in the *Ṣawāmi* (A. f 118a. = C. f 161a = E. f 127b. l. v. 360) to the destruction of Khurāsān and other countries in the Caliphate of an-Nāṣir in these words:

«و دران وقت که کفار تار اباد الله خضراءم هجوى کردند و آن جماعت که مندمه باجوج و مأجوج اند روی بتخریب بلاد اسلام نهادند و تمامت بلاد ماوراءالنهر و خراسان و جبال و عراق و غزنین و اندر بیجان و آزان از آسیب صولت ایستاد خراب شد حضرت جلّت مدینه السلام از ضرر ایستاد مصون ماند و آن جمله از میامن آیام مبارک امیر المؤمنین ناصر بود و وفات او شب یکشنبه بود سلح ماه رمضان سنه اثنین و عشرين و ستمائة»

The beginning
of the period
of his literary
productivity.

The year 617 A.H. = 1220/1 A.D. is rather important in the life of our author, as we find him taking actual part in the political events of the day, and preaching from the pulpit the glorious adventures of the statesman Majdu'l-Mulk³⁾ Bahā'u'd-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḡmad al-Jāmajī, once the Wazīr of Tāju'd-Dīn Yildiz in 612 A.H., who now

¹⁾ *Kāmil*, Vol. XII, p. 333 under the year 617 A.H.

²⁾ *S.J.M.* pp. 38, 43, 45-8, 55, 83-94 also below, p. 17, ll. 24-9.

³⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. I, p. 115.

after breaking with Iltutmish, had become a staunch supporter of Malik Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qabācha, the ruler of Sind. As has been said previously, the period of his literary activity also begins in this year, so we shall trace the progress of his works in succession. There are three extant works of the author and the fourth¹⁾ is probably lost. The first is the Biography of the Poets, called the *Lubābū'l-Albāb*, for which he collected ample material during his travels. Owing to various unfortunate accidents, much of this material, as he himself states on two different occasions²⁾, was destroyed, and in the short period at his disposal he was not able to enrich the *Lubāb* with biographical details of the various personalities mentioned in the notices, so that this anthology contains no more than a summary of what he could recollect. And again¹⁰ it appears from the concluding remarks in the *Lubāb* that his attachment to the court of Qabācha was not much earlier than this date, and that the *Lubāb* was completed just afterwards.

Chief Judge
of Kanbāyat,
where he trans-
lates the *Faraj*.

Soon after this, he was sent as the Chief Judge, at the behest of Qabācha, to the recently acquired country of Gujrāt, or Nahrwāla as it was then called. A con-¹⁵ temporary note, suffixed to the Persian Translation³⁾ of at-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj* gives a glimpse of our author in Kanbāyat. From the original Preface to this work, from this Subscription, and from the author's own reminiscences of Kanbāyat in the *Jawāmi'*⁴⁾ and a clear statement in the same⁵⁾, we can gather the history of this Translation⁶⁾, which was composed about 620 A. H. This work, like the first one, was written for²⁰ Malik Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Qabācha, and in fact it was a preparation for the grand Collection of Anecdotes which was to follow.

A CRITICAL NOTICE OF AL-'AWFĪ'S PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF AT-TANŪKHĪ'S *AL-FARAJ BA'DA'SH-SHIDDA* COMPOSED ABOUT 620 A. H. = 1223 A. D.

al-'Awfī's
Persian version
hitherto undis-
covered.

Another work of Muḥammad al-'Awfī, which is very little known and incorrectly described is the Persian Translation mentioned above. Until now only one translation²⁵ by Ḥusayn b. As'ad b. Ḥusayn ad-Dihistānī al-Mu'ayyadī is known as the earliest Persian version of the *Faraj*. Charles Rieu⁷⁾ has given a full account of this work, but he has neither fixed the date of composition nor mentioned anything about al-'Awfī's efforts in this connection. Ethé⁸⁾, in the description of Nos. 733, 737, 738 of his Catalogue, has left the authorship of the last two Mss. undecided, and has conjectured that Ḥusayn b. As'ad's Translation is of a prior date. And again in his article in the³⁰ *Grundriss*⁹⁾, on "Die Erzählende und poetische Prosa", he mentions a translation of

¹⁾ كتاب مدائح السلطان mentioned in the *Jawāmi'* (A. f 160b. I. xii. Int. 613), probably a Collection of all the Panegyrics composed by the author on various occasions in praise of Iltutmish and his patron-wazir.

²⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. II, pp. 383; 418.

³⁾ [Ind. Off. 1432] ff 456b—459a.

⁴⁾ (A. f 119b. I. vi. 366.); (D. f 81b. IV. xxi. 2011.)

⁵⁾ (D. f 22a. IV. vii. Int. 1848.)

⁶⁾ See two separate notices on at-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, (= T. F. S.) under the *Conspectus of the Sources* of the *Jawāmi'*, Ch. III, Nos. 31, 32, for the utilisation of the *Faraj*.

⁷⁾ See Cat. Per. Mss. Br. Mus. [Add. 7673] Vol. II, pp. 751—2.

⁸⁾ The India Office Mss. Nos. 1664, 1432, 720, resp., Columns 502—5.

⁹⁾ *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (= G.I.P.) II, p. 330.

the *Faraj* by al-Awfi, but does not add much to our information about this work. The learned Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān of Qazwīn, while discussing this translation of al-Awfi says¹⁾, "And it is not known, whether the translation of the *Kitābu'l-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* by Ḥusayn b As'ad ibnu'l-Ḥusayn, which we have in our hands now-days, was prior or subsequent to that by the author (al-Awfi), since it is not known at what period the translator (Ḥusayn) lived". The existence of the two Mss of the latter half of al-Awfi's Translation in the India Office Library was not known to him, hence he was unable to determine the actual dates of these two Translations by al-Awfi and Ḥusayn respectively.

The Scope
of the present
notice

Therefore, the object of this notice is to determine the exact dates of both the translations, and to establish the priority of al-Awfi's to that of Ḥusayn's Version, and to elucidate a few points about the life of al-Awfi, which are mentioned in the original Preface to this work, and in a Subscription appended to al-Awfi's Persian Translation²⁾ of *al-Faraj* by one of his contemporaries, and in the *Fawāmi* itself.

The two
statements of
al-Awfi about
his own Trans-
lation

Let us first of all consider what al-Awfi himself has to say about this translation in his own Preface [Ind. Off. 1432. f 1b-2a.] = [Ind. Off. 720. f 1b].

«قدر فرماں ملک معظم ناصر الدّیّا و الدّین ابو الفتح فاجه السلطانی قسم امیرالمؤمنین [!] علی الله شاه و اظهر برهانہ یک نصف از ترجمہ کتاب الفرج بعد الشّدّة پرداختہ شد و عروس زیبای لطایف و حکایات آن را از پس پردہ تنقّی عبارت عربیت بر نظر خاطمان افاصل عجم جلوہ داد و نصف دیگر ابتدا کردہ شد و چون بانجام پیوندد باقتال روز افزون این پادشاه مسلاہ هموم و غمگسار مجبوران مغموم گردد ایزد تعالی امداد و روت و تأیید راہنا و قرین رای و رایت این پادشاه جهان پناه دارد و حضرت اعلیٰ را محلّ ورود دولت و وفود نصرت قرین ناد بحق محمد و آلہ»

And again in the *Fawāmi* (D. f 22a = C. f 360a. IV. vii. Int. 1848.)

«و قاضی مُحَسِّنْ تَوْحِیْیْ کتاب الفرج بعد الشّدّة تألیف کردہ است اندرین معنی و ان کتائی [مقبول و] مرغوست و مؤلف آن کتاب را بلغت پارسی ترجمہ کردہ است و بیشتر حکایات آن درین مجموع مسطورست»

Importance
of one of the
two Mss.

There exist two Mss. [Ind. Off. 1432 and 720 (= Ethé's Cat. Nos. 737-738)] in the library of the India Office, of the second half of this translation by al-Awfi, upon which the following criticism of this work is based. Ms. [Ind. Off. 1432] deserves special attention, as it contains a Subscription on ff. 456b-459a, which is of capital importance in determining the history of this translation and a few doubtful points about the life of the author.

History of the
transcription
of this work.

This Ms. was transcribed in the city of Karkh a suburb of Baghdād. The colophon is defective and reads thus:

«بتاریخ بیست [و] دوم شهر رمضان ۸۱۰ در بلد کرخ سرحد بغداد بخط زشت کاتب الحروف اضعف عباد الله (f 458a) النوی الباری فلان ابن فلان در سنہ تسعہ (۸۱۰) ثمانین و خمسين (۸۱۰) [تسمایہ و ثمانین و خمس probably as Ethé also reads] بفضل ایزد کارساز و داور بی نیاز ترقیم یافت»

¹⁾ *Lubāb*, Pt. I, Persian Int. p. گز.

²⁾ The *Ta'rikh-i-Muḥammadī*, ([Or. 137. Br. Mus.] f 334a. composed in 842 A.H.) states that al-Awfi dedicated it to Qabācha; perhaps this is the only work which mentions it and omits his other works.

The copyist has purposely omitted his name and the date is also uncertain; probably it was transcribed in the tenth century of the Hijra, but the Subscription, called *Ḥaṣṣ*, at the end of this Ms. forms a part of the original transcription by a contemporary, hence its importance is enhanced. The writer of this note is Muḥammad [b.] 'Umar [b.] Muḥammad of Samarqand, a friend of al-'Awfī, who happened to visit Kanbāyat 5 (Cambay) where our author was appointed as a judge by the ruler, Malīk Nāṣirū'd-Dīn Qabācha of Sind, and where this unauthorised translation was copied by the above-mentioned Samarqandī and kept in secret, and later on collated by him from the author's original copy once more, as follows: [Ind. Off. 1432] ff 456b-459a.

10 فصل، باز میفاید اصغر العید محمد [بن] عمر [بن] محمد سمرقندی که کاتب الفرج بعد الشّده است بر رای عالم آرای خداوند عالم (f 457a) ناصر الدّین و الدّین ابو الفتح قباچه که بندگان و قباچه ائمه و حوادث روزگار ازین حضرت با جلال لازال محفوظه بالعز و الاقبال بطرف [نهر و اله] (a) و حدود سواحل دریای محیط افتاد بوضعی که آن [را] کنایت میخوانند، قاضی امام اعزّ اخضر اجد اشرف سدید الملک و الدّین ظهیر الاسلام و المسلمین واعظ الملوك و السلاطین منشی النظم و الثرمک الکلام افضل العالم محمد العوفی یدم الله ائمه 15 ورزی چند آنجا سکونت ساخته بود، بسبب اختلاط و مباسطت که بندگان را با او بود اختلافی (b) میداشت، و در اتانی آن از کتاب الفرج بعد الشّده ذکر میگرد و از ترتیب آن تفحص مینمود، چون معلوم شد که پرداخته (f 457b) شده است و با تمام (c) پیوسته، بعد از لطایف حبل و المحاح بسیار از وی التماس کرده آمد تا در آن مطالعه رود، چون به بندگان رسید بر سیل تعجیل از آن نسخه (d) گرفت بی علم و اجازت او مستور میداشت بعد از آن روی به بیاض نهاد، چون دفتر دوم بنرمان اعلی لازال اعلی م او ترتیب داده بود آن یکجلد فرد و مجزّد مانده، و هبت شاهانه شاه جهان 20 خدایگان ربیع مسکون ناصر الدّین و الدّین که در ملک مخلص باد و بر دشمن مظفر بر ترتیب دفتر (e) اوّل مصروف میبود، و از عبارتی هر چه لطیف تر و لباسی هر چه پاکیزه تر در آن پوشانید است و کمال تکلف واجب دید، و امروز رغبت ملوک و سلاطین عالم و فضلا و اکابر بنی آدم درین کتاب زیاده [از آن] (f) است که در آن شرح رود، چون دیباچه آن بالقاب هابون شاه جهان سلطان غازی خسرو دین پرور خدایگان ربیع مسکون ناصر الدّین و الدّین ضاعف الله قدره و خلّد سلطانه مطرز است، و دله و زبانهای خلق از مؤمن و مشرک و شاه و ملک بولا و ثنای او (f 458a) جاری [است] 25 وثابت، چه امروز حتی متوجه گردانید است بر ثنات بلاد اسلام و دیار کفر که در و هم و خاطر هیچ پادشاه [نگذشته] کثرت دوم در سنه احدی و عشرين و ستایه که کفار ملاعین دمرم الله و اخرام بحضرت ملتان رسیدند، با چندان آلت و عدت و کثرت و شوکت و ساختگی و قوت قرب سه ماه آنجا محیط شدند، و هر غدر و حیل که کردند با آنکه هیچ حصن حصین و قلعه سنگین یکروز طاقت حمله ایشان نداشت، و هیچ لشکری جرّار با ایشان مقاومت نتوانست

(a) Ms. نهر و اله.

(b) Ms. اختلافی (sic), Prof. E. G. Browne's emendation as given above.

(c) It is evident from here, and from the original preface of al-'Awfī (see above, p. 15. II. 17-22) that he had completed the *Daftār-i-Awval*, which is now lost, and had begun the *Daftār-i-Dūyum*, before he met this Samarqandī in 621 A. H.(d) The transcriber Samarqandī made a copy of it, without the permission of al-'Awfī and afterwards collated both the *Daftārs* or parts, with the original Ms. of the author.(e) Both the *Daftārs* were originally dedicated to Qabācha.

(f) Mīrzā Muḥammad's correction.

کرد، جمله را باصابت رای و [رجاحت] عقل و تلقین آسمانی و مدد رحمانی و توفیق یزدانی و بذل حزاین و استمالت
حشم و رعایت خدم و ترفیه رعایا و تقویت ضعفا و اکرام علما و فضلا و افاضت مرحمت و اشاعت معدلت و مهابت
بادشاهانه و سیاست ملوکانه مقهور و منهزم گردانید، و اکثر ایشان را بدوزخ فرستاد، چنانکه گفته اند، شعر⁽¹⁾
وَقَالَ اللَّهُ طُولَ الدَّهْرِ هَذَا، مَدُولًا بِالْفَدَايَا وَ الْعَسَايَا
وَهَمَّكَ فِي مُطَارَاةٍ الْأَعَادِي، وَ شَغْلَكَ فِي مُرَاعَاةِ الرِّعَايَا (1435b)

چون این ملاعن دمرم الله و [اذ] لهم حشمت ملکداری و مهابت جهاننداری و نسر پادشاهی و ظفر و بصرت پادشاه
دین پرور شهریار غازی اعلی الله امره مشاهده کرد[ند] و وهن و ضعف و مخدولی خویش ندیدند روی بفرار نهادند
و حیات را غنیمت شمردند و در یکشب تا حدود جرجان (P) براندد و از نهر سد عبور کردند و سکن این اقلیم از
نهب و قتل و حرق آن ملاعن دمرم الله و اخزام خلاص یافتند و آن صبت باطراف عالم و آکاف گیتی سایر و
طایر گشت و بر روی روزگار مخلص ماند و بر همه مفرز و محقق شد که این پادشاهی و سلطنت و جهاننداری و بسطت
کامگاری و قدرت در دودمان این شاه جهان خدایگان ربع مسکون ناصر الدنیا و الدین خلد الله ملکه نا دامن
قیامت باقی خواهد بود... آخ.

The im-
portance of the
above Sub-
scription.

The importance of this document is enhanced on account of the following reasons:
The details of al-'Awff's life are very little known; excepting what is derived from
his own works there is no other contemporary account or source from which an exact
estimate of his life and works can be formed. This account is written in the lifetime
of our author, and by one who was on intimate terms with him and had an equal
aptitude for literary pursuits, as is evident from the eagerness with which he seized
the opportunity of transcribing this translation even without the permission of the author.

Corrobor-
ation of facts.

Unfortunately the Ms. is defective and the name of the transcriber is not identifiable
with any of the persons mentioned in the group of al-'Awff's contemporaries in the
Lubāb; but there is no reason to doubt the validity of his own statement about the
secret transcript, in which he confesses his guilt, while on the other hand the historical
facts mentioned in this note about the inroads of the Mongols on Sind and Mūltān
in the year 621 A.H. are corroborated by later historians like Minhāj-i-Sirāj.

«و مدام میان او و سلطان سعید شمس الدین طاب مرقه منازعت می بود تا چون مصاف لب آب سند شد میان
جلال الدین خوارزمشاه و چنگیز خان جلال الدین خوارزمشاه بزمین سد آمد و بر طرف دیول و مکران برفت
لشکر کفار مغل بعد از فتح ندنه [توی] نوین مغل با لشکر گران پیای شهر ملتان آمد و چهل روز آن حصن
حصین را در بنان داد و ملک ناصر الدین در آن مقاتله و حصار در خزانه نگشاد و با خلق احسان بسیار کرد و
آثار شهامت و فرزانی و جلالت و مردانگی چندان نمود که ذکر آن بر صحائف ایام تا روز قیامت باقی ماند و این
[Add. 26, 189. Br. Mus.] f 169a = M.T.N. حادثه حصار در شهر سنه احدی و عشرین و ستمایه بود»
p. 143.

al-'Awff in
Kanbáyat
between 620—
621 A.H.

Although this note is not intended to give a full account of al-'Awff's life, yet
we obtain a glimpse of the man and the author, as situated in Kanbáyát (Cambay),

¹) The present writer is indebted to Mr. Sayyid Ja'far Husayn for the correction of this couplet.

anecdotes taken from about 93 mentioned sources, and probably from many more unmentioned. According to the author's own statement in the Preface to this work (A. f 21 b), he had already planned it, at the request of Malik Náşiru'd-Dín Qabácha, but had not finished it when the conquest of Uchcha, the siege of the fort of Bhakkar, the drowning of his former patron-monarch, and the triumph of Shamsu'd-Dín Iltutmish took place in 625 A.H.. At this critical juncture our author was also among the besieged, and later, like Minháj-i-Siráj¹⁾, had to change masters. From this time onwards we see him in the service of Sultan Iltutmish, under the patronage of the Wazír Qiwámu'd-Dín entitled the Nizámu'l-Mulk Muḥammad b. Abí Sa'd al-Junaydí, at whose behest he resuscitated this work and to whom he dedicated it later. There is practically 10 nothing autobiographic, which would throw some fresh light on the sunset of his life, except occasional references to the court and the Wazír in the conclusions of the chapters of the *Ḥawáṣī*. The allusion to the rebellion of Malik Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín Dawlatsháh²⁾ Balká b. Ḥusámu'd-Dín 'Awadh Khalají, the governor of Lakhnawtí, and the victory of Iltutmish over him in 628³⁾ A.H., signifies that it happened in the past and that 15 the *Ḥawáṣī* was in progress. In this respect, al-'Awfí offers a great contrast to the younger and more famous Minháj-i-Siráj, who appears constantly on the scene. Among the innumerable eulogies, one is entirely autobiographic and sums up his position at the court of Iltutmish. (A. f 9 b = D. f 105 a = C. f 88 a. II, iii. 1228)⁴⁾.

صاحبا قصه داعی بکرم اصفاکن . که مثل گشت کنون قصه او در افواه 20
داعی مخلص عوفی که از احداث زمان . میشود خون دل مسکینش بروزی صد راه
گرچه در مرتبه رابع^(a) عقد^(b) هنرست . صفر و آحاد بود حاصل او یعنی آه
مدتی عمر برآمد^(c) بمحصل اغراض . همچو دربان^(d) گران معتکف هر درگاه
رنگ و بوی کرم از کس چون ندید و نشنید . با چنین تحفه دگر باز^(e) تو آورد پناه
ذات او هست نبائی^(f) بکرم آتش ده . چون شود تازه پس از وی ثمر تازه بخواه 25
او روان کرد زبانشرا بهدیج تو دراز . تو^(g) ازو دست حوادث بکرم کن کوناه
ناکه در نور و ضیا ماه نباشد چون^(h) خور . ناکه در مرتبه فرزین نبود همچون شاه
دشمن جاه تو در حبس ابد باد چنان . که برون ناید ازو هرگز چون سایه ز چاه⁽ⁱ⁾

¹⁾ *M. T. N.*, pp. 173—4.

²⁾ (D. f 260 a. III. xviii. 1720).

³⁾ *Ḥabaqát-i-Náşirí* [Add. 26, 189 Br. Mus.]. On f 178 b the year 628 A. H. is clearly written, which is wrongly printed in the text, as 627 A. H., cf. *Lubáb*. Pt. I, p. ڪٽ.

⁴⁾ These lines and other passages in this chapter have been carefully revised by Mírzá Muḥammad Khán, to whose admirable scholarship the present writer is so much indebted.

(a—b) C. D. . عاقل و عقل . P. as above.

(c) C. آمد . P. بر امید .

(d) C. یامان .

(e) A. C. D. بار .

(f) P. نهائی .

(g) C. نش . K. as above.

(h) C. D. در .

(i) C. D. K. ماه .

P. as above.

CHAPTER II.

THE POSITION OF THE *JA WÁMI'UL-ḤIKÁYÁT* IN
PERSIAN PROSE: - ITS VALUE IN THE FIELD OF HISTORICAL
ANECDOTES - ITS TYPICAL SOURCES - ITS ENCYCLOPAEDIC
CONTENTS - ITS MERITS AND DEFECTS ANALYSED - ITS
INFLUENCE ON LATER WORKS - ITS TURKISH TRANSLA-
TIONS - ITS UTILISATION BY ORIENTAL SCHOLARS FOR
VARIOUS BRANCHES OF STUDY

(pp. 23-32).

THE POSITION OF THE *ḤAWĀMI'U'L-HIKĀYĀT* IN PERSIAN PROSE, AND ITS VALUE IN THE FIELD OF HISTORICAL ANECDOTES.

al-'Awfī's
unique position
amongst Men
of Letters.

The epoch in which al-'Awfī flourished is important for two reasons. Firstly it coincides with the earliest invasions of the Mongols on Khurāsān, and the destruction of the empire of Khwārazm, secondly it is rich in literary productions, both in Arabic and Persian prose. Thus from the literary point of view al-'Awfī was an inheritor of the learning of the past, and a transmitter of that knowledge, which was soon to be lost, to the later generations. If we glance at the writers of the early Mongol period, 5 we find that historians like Ibnu'l-Aṭhīr (who composed his *Kāmil* in 628 A. H. = 1230/1), biographers like Ibn Khallikān (who finished his work the *Wafayātu'l-A'yān* in 1274 A. D.) geographers like Yāqūt (who completed his *Muḥjamu'l-Bulḍān* in 1224 A. D.), Zakariyya al-Qazwīnī (who composed the *Aṭhārū'l-Bilād* and the *Ajā'ibu'l-Makhlūqāt* at a later date in 1263 A. D.), special historians and biographers like Ibnu'l-Qiftī, (who composed 10 his *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukamā'* after 1227 A. D.), Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'a (d. 1270), the author of *Ṭabaqātu'l-Aṭibbā'*, are the dominant figures in Arabic prose. In Persian some of the most important works were written at this period. Shams-i-Qays wrote his important treatise on prosody the *Muḥjam fi Ma'd'ir-i-Ash'arī'l-'Ajam*, between 614-630 A. H. = 1217/8-1232/3 A. D., while Abu'sh-Sharaf Nāṣiḥ of Jurbādhaqān translated the *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* 15 of al-'Uṭbī. Other mixed works were not wanting e. g. al-Faḥ b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bundārī re-edited 'Imādu'd-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī's history of the Saljūqs in 1226 A. D., and also epitomised The *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī in Arabic prose, at about this time. Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad an-Nasawī compiled the *Sirat-i-Ḥalālu'd-Dīn Mankubirni* in Arabic, in 639 A. H. = 1241/2 A. D.; Ibn Isfandiyār compiled his *History of Ṭabaristān* 20 (613 A. H. = 1216/7 A. D. being the current year), Sa'd of Warāwīn, translated the *Marsubān-nāma* from the dialect of Ṭabaristān into ordinary Persian prose about 1210-1215 A. D., and Farīdu'd-Dīn al-'Aṭṭār composed the *Tadhkiratu'l-'A'liyā'* at about the same time as the *Ḥawāmi'* was being composed.

The only Col-
lection of its
kind written as
early as 625
A. H.

All the above writers lived at one place or another, and al-'Awfī had no direct 25 connection with them, but they represent a wider group of contemporaries, who were engaged with their own works while al-'Awfī was compiling his anecdotes. While others were writing systematic accounts of persons, places, periods and sciences, he selected the whole mass of recorded and unrecorded knowledge as his material, and drew upon it freely, and preserved it in detached anecdotes. The very title of the work as 30 the *Ḥawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwāyāt* ("Compendium of Anecdotes and Flashes of Traditions") suggests the wide field it covers. Since most of the branches of Muslim learning either in Persian or Arabic are represented in one form or another

in the *Jawāmi'*, we find here and there anecdotes common to the above works, and somewhat independent of each of other as regards their sources, method of treatment and illustration. It is really the comparison with the works of his predecessors, that shows the value of this collection and gives it a unique position in the literature of Persia. Hitherto different works had been written on different subjects, but there was not found one collection of this type written in the Persian language representing the history, civilisation, literature, and science known to the Muslim world.

Its typical sources for historical and biographical anecdotes

And again it is the remarkable range of sources that gives this work the historical value it enjoys. A few of them, which were once at the disposal of our author, and are now extremely rare or lost, are these works: aṣ-Ṣūlī's *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā-i-bani'l-Abbās*, 10 Muḥammad b. Kalbī's *Tafsīr* and his son's *Adyānu'l-'Arab*, Khaṭīb-i-Baghdādī's *Ta'rikh-i-Baghdād*, as-Sallāmī's *Ta'rikh-i-Wulāt-i-Khurāsān*, Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣābī's *Ta'rikh-i-Tāji*, al-Marzubānī's *Kitābu'sh-Shabāb-i-wa'sh-Shayb* and Ibnu'l-Muqaffa's *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-Ajam*. A systematic classification of some of the sources of al-'Awfī shows that he used such works as represent the subjects in a typical manner. Thus, for the history of the 15 Caliphate, the Annals of at-Ṭabarī has constantly been utilised; for the history of the ancient kings of Persia, ath-Tha'ālibī's *Ghurār*, the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī, and the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-Ajam* (probably the *Khudāy-nāma* of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa) have been used; and for the anecdotes of the various dynastic rulers, special and typical sources have been employed. The accounts of the Ṭāhirids, the Ṣaffārids, and the Sāmānids is taken 20 partly from the *Ta'rikh-i-Wulāt-i-Khurāsān* of as-Sallāmī (as has been shown in the *Conspectus of the Sources*); for the Ghaznawids three important sources are mentioned — the *Ta'rikh-i-Nāsiri*, the *Yamini* of al-'Uṭbī, and the *K'halqu'l-Insān* of Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq an-Nīshāpūrī; for the Buwayhids the *Ta'rikh-i-Tāji* or the *Ta'rikh-i-Dayālīma* is the source; and the accounts of the Īlak Khāns of Māwarā'u'n-Nahr, are based on the 25 *Ta'rikh-i-Turkistān* by Majdu'd-Dīn b. 'Adnān as-Surkhakātī, but unfortunately the last three works are also lost. This wide range of sources for the historical anecdotes covers almost all the important works written from the earliest times down to al-'Awfī's day. For politics and administration, there are traces of the utilisation of the *Siyāsāt-nāma* of the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, the *Qābiṣ-nāma* of 'Unṣuru'l-Ma'ālī, and the *A'rādhu'r-* 30 *Riyāsa* of az-Zahīrī as-Samarqandī, and a *Siyaru'l-Mulūk*. The accounts of the Prophet and his followers, and the lives of the saints and religious worthies, are based on the *Kitābu'l-Maghāzī* of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, the *Rabī'u'l-Abrār* of az-Zamakhsharī, the *Risālatu'l-Qushayriyya*, the *Asrāru't-Tawhīd*, a *Ta'rikh-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Khurāsān*, a *Rawḍhatu'l-'Ulamā'*, a *Siyaru's-Ṣāliḥin*, and a *Qīṣaṣu'l-Anbiyā'* respectively. 35

Other sources of varied nature

Biographical anecdotes of other eminent personalities, which also form an important portion of the compendium, are taken from various other works, e.g. the chapter on the 'Heresiarchs' is based on the *Āthārū'l-Bāqiya* of al-Bīrūnī, that on the 'Poets' is partly based on the *Yatimatu'd-Dahr* of ath-Tha'ālibī, that on the 'Women' is partly based on the works of a different nature, like the *Sindbād-nāma*, the 40 *Bakhtiyār-nāma* and the *Kalīla wa Dimna*. The accounts of the 'Longlived' persons is taken from the lost work of al-Marzubānī, called the *Kitābu'sh-Shabāb-i-wa'sh-Shayb*, which ranks next to the *Mu'ammari*n of Abū Ḥātim as-Sijistānī. The two parts of the work on 'Blameable' and 'Praiseworthy' qualities also contain a wide range of

historical illustration, the sources of which are diverse, and for the stories of encounter and adventure the *Faraj* of at-Tanukhī is the constant and acknowledged source.

Sources for
semi-scientific
subjects

Besides the above-mentioned subjects, a few other chapters on semi-scientific topics are important on account of their typical sources. Thus the information about cosmography, ethnology, and antiquities is drawn from the works called the *Masālik wa-Mamālik*, which are so many in number, that it is difficult to say which particular work or works were actually utilised. The chapters on natural history and physical properties of natural objects are based on the *Kitābu'l-Hayawān* of al-Jahiz and that of Sharafu'z-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī, and on other treatises translated from the Greek authors, like Democrates, Aristotle, Galen, Ptolemy and Rufus Ephesius. 5 10

Authenticity
of its material

An exact estimate of his debt to other important authors cannot be made; the information contained in this notice is chiefly based on the works utilised or mentioned in one form or another. There are many anecdotes in which al-Awfi, gives no clue to his sources; hence we can only conjecture that he had a wide store of information at hand which he utilised according to his own discretion, and occasionally 15 acknowledged his indebtedness to his predecessors. One remarkable thing about the utilisation of his sources is his fidelity to them. This contributes immensely to the authenticity of the knowledge which he handed down to posterity in a plain and straightforward style, (very different to the florid style of the *Lubāb*) and in an abbreviated and anecdotal form. Much as we should have liked him to give us the 20 entire details, and all his authorities and sources of information, it seems it was besides his main purpose, which was to make an anecdote interesting and readable and bring together scattered facts in a reasonable compass.

Copious but
less original.

As regards the copiousness of the contents of the *Ḥawāṣin*, a glance at the *Comparative Index* of the hundred chapters will show the wide range of subjects and 25 its encyclopaedic nature. It is enough to point out here, that it is one of the largest books in Persian, containing 2,113 anecdotes interspersed with about 1,650 couplets which in a clear *Nasḥī* hand cover 358 folios in G = [Suppl. persan 906]; but the material which is al-Awfi's own, or cannot be found in other later works, is very limited. A considerable number of the anecdotes can be traced either in the extant 30 original sources of al-Awfi or in other earlier or later works. In such cases it is interesting to note the transmigration of anecdotes and the various changes which they have undergone, till they have lost their historical accuracy and possess no more value than fiction. This phenomenon has been noticed under the account of the influence of the *Ḥawāṣin*, in the next few pages. 35

Absence of
contemporary
events and
dates in histo-
rical anecdotes.

In his attempt to preserve the traditions of the past and communicate them faithfully, he has ignored what passed around him, and has abstained from giving contemporary history. Of first-hand material, which would have been of immense value to us, there is practically nothing. Lack of dates in historical anecdotes is one of the serious defects of this collection. Besides this, the arbitrary arrangement of anecdotes 40 about a particular individual in different chapters and under different headings, without any chronological sequence or systematic design, is a great hindrance to the utility of the work. In very few cases has al-Awfi challenged the authenticity of his material, hence some inconsistencies and inaccuracies have crept into the anecdotes.

Valuable information in some chapters.

Apart from these defects, there are always found several anecdotes in each chapter that contain genuine facts, and are peculiar to the *Ḥawāmī'*. Most of the biographical anecdotes occur in part I, ch. vi-xxv, and some of these deserve special attention. The same is the case with part II and III: here and there one finds really valuable material. The fourth part derives special importance on account of the scientific information contained in it. The importance of all such anecdotes is either shown in the *Complete Table of Contents* or in the *Conspectus of the Sources*, as will be seen later on

THE INFLUENCE OF THE *ḤAWĀMĪ'UL-HIKĀYĀT* ON LATER WORKS, AND ITS UTILISATION BY ORIENTALISTS FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES.

The *Ḥawāmī'* as a mine of information, during the vii-xiv centuries of the *Hijra*.

The name of al-ʿAwfī has always been associated in Persian literature with the *Ḥawāmī'ul-Hikāyāt* alone; perhaps the *Haft Iqlīm*, (composed in 1002 A.H.) is the earliest work that acknowledges the *Lubāb'ul-Albāb* also. The influence which the *Ḥawāmī'* exerted on historical, biographical, anecdotal and cosmographical works, can be estimated by the accounts borrowed from this work, directly or indirectly, and by the number of Turkish translations, abridgements and adaptations of this book, and excerpts utilised for critical studies at different times and in different countries.

Its traces in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*. (vii).

Soon after al-ʿAwfī, Minhāj-i-Sirāj, a younger contemporary of his, famous as the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, compiled his history in 650 A.H. = 1260 A.D. Traces of the influence of the *Ḥawāmī'* are found in places, although without any acknowledgement on the part of Minhāj. The following anecdote which is found in only one Ms. [Add. 16,862 Br. Mus.] is common to both. Cf. (J. f 216a. II. vi. 1300); *M.T.N.*, pp. 282-5). It describes the ideal training of a prince, at the hands of an excellent preceptor who punished the prince very severely, at the end of his probation, in order that he might realise the pains of his victims, when he should become a king.

In the *ʿAjd'ib'ul-Makhlūqāt*. (vii).

In a similar manner we find that Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī, in his *ʿAjd'ib'ul-Makhlūqāt*¹⁾ (composed in 1263 and 1276 A.D.), relates the story of the Israelite hermit Baršīšā and the temptation of the Devil, which is also common to both and classified under the same heading; but it cannot be ascertained whether he actually borrowed from al-ʿAwfī. Cf. (D. f 255b. III. xvii. 1711); *Q.A.M.*, pp. 368-9).

Citations in the *Ṭaḥṣīb'ul-Salaf*. (viii).

The earliest citations²⁾ from the *Ḥawāmī'* with due acknowledgement are found in the *Ṭaḥṣīb'ul-Salaf*, the enlarged Persian version of the *Kitāb'ul-Fakhri* of Ibnu't-Ṭiḡṭāqa (composed 701 A.H. = 1302 A.D.) by Hindūshāh b. Sanjar al-Kīrānī aṣ-Ṣāhibī, for the prince Nuṣratu'd-Dīn Atabek of Luristān in the year 724 A.H. = 1324 A.D.. There are three direct quotations from the *Ḥawāmī'*; in Nos. (1) and (3) the *laqab* of the author al-ʿAwfī as Sadīdu'd-Dīn is given (see above, p. 5). The parallel references are to [Browne Or. G. 3.].

(1) Accession of Marwān b. Ḥakam. (A. f 97a. I. v. 248) = f 34a.

(2) Why the Caliph ʿUthmān recalled Ḥakam b. al-ʿAṣ. (A. f 92b. I. v. 222) = f 34b.

(3) Convent of Niẓamu'l-Mulk Ṭuṣī in Constantinople. (A. f 188a. I. xiv. 746) = f 138b.

¹⁾ Ed. F. Wustenfeld. 1848. (= *Q.A.M.*)

²⁾ The importance of these was first discovered by Prof. Browne, who kindly communicated them to the present writer.

Citations in
the *Nuzhatu'l-
Qulub*, (viii).

A little later Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī of Qazwīn, makes a passing mention of the *Ḥawāmī*^c, as shown above (p. 5, ll. 14-23), but in the geographical part of his *Nuzhatu'l-Qulub* (composed in 740 A.H. = 1340 A.D.) at least ten direct quotations are traceable. Mr. Guy Le Strange has commented in his preface to the Persian text of the *Nuzhat* (p. xv) on the inaccuracy of Ḥamdu'llah in the use of the *Fārsnāma*, and the case is the same with the *Ḥawāmī*^c. All these quotations are cut short, and sometimes disranged and misquoted, but for our purposes it is important to note that as early as the eighth century A.H. the *Ḥawāmī*^c had shown its influence on important writers. As the end of the book derives its special interest from the stories of 'Marvels', Ḥamdu'llah has utilised it in this connection. Parallel references are given below to the Persian text of the *Nuzhat* edited by Mr. Guy Le Strange. (= *H.N.Q.*)

- (1) Duality of sex in a girl in Baghdād. (D. f 59b. IV. xiv. 1936) = p. 281.
- (2) A monstrous birth in Palestine. (D. f 60a. IV. xiv. 1937) = p. 292.
- (3) Joint-twins presented to Nāṣiru'd-Dawla. (D. f 60b. IV. xiv. 1940) = p. 284.
- (4) A monstrous birth in the reign of Iltutmish. (D. f 60b. IV. xiv. 1942) = p. 288.
- (5) The City of Women near the Moving Sands. (D. f 70a. IV. xvii. 1976) = p. 273.
- (6) Talisman set in the Valley of Ants (D. f 75a. IV. xix. 1989) = p. 288.
- (7) Spellbinding gnats in Naṣībīn. (D. f 75b. IV. xix. 1990) = p. 106.
- (8) The wondrous water-mill of Yūnus. (D. f 75b. IV. xix. 1991) = p. 284.
- (9) The seven enchanted cities of Babylon. (D. f 76a. IV. xix. 1994) = p. 292.
- (10) The rain-producing fire-temple in Armenia. (D. f 78b. IV. xx. 2001) = p. 293.

In the *Zubdat
u't-Tawārikh*
and *Ātharu'l-
Wuzarā'*, (ix)

Likewise we find two other authors utilising the *Ḥawāmī*^c in the ninth century A.H., the first being Ḥāfiẓ Abrū who composed the *Zubdatu't-Tawārikh* for the prince Bāysunqur in 829 or 830 A.H. = 1426 or 1427 A.D. The very first anecdote of the *Ḥawāmī*^c, on the origin of idolatry, is cited word for word without any acknowledgement. Cf. (A. f 22a. I. i. 1), [Or. 2774 Br. Mus.]¹⁾ f 24b. The next author who is greatly indebted to al-'Awfī is Sayfu'd-Dīn Ḥājī b. Niẓām al-'Aqṣī. In the first nine chapters of his *Ātharu'l-Wuzarā'* (composed about 883 A.H. = 1478/9 A.D.), besides acknowledging the *Ḥawāmī*^c as one of his main sources, he has incorporated a considerable number of anecdotes from the accounts of the wazirs and secretaries in the *Ḥawāmī*^c. See [Or. 4107 Br. Mus.]. f 4a, f 7a, f 10a, f 11a, f 12b, f 16a, f 24a, f 37b, f 41b, ff 111-4. The last reference, though without acknowledgement, is important. It contains the epistle written by Mu'īnu'd-Dīn al-Aṣamm, the secretary of the Sultan Sanjar in response to the appeal for redress sent by the Muslim captives in Byzantium²⁾. (A. ff 220. I. xviii. 1003) = ff 111-4.

In the works
of Mīr Khwānd
and Khwānd-
amīr (x).

The most wide-spread influence of the *Ḥawāmī*^c is seen in the tenth century A.H.. At least ten authors who wrote in various parts of Māwarā'u'n-Nahr, Khurāsān, Asia Minor and India, on history, biography and cosmography quote this work. In the *Khatima* of the *Rawḍhatu's-Safā* of the historian Mīr Khwānd (d. circa 903 A.H.) occur four direct citations of the same type as in the *Nuzhatu'l-Qulub*, noticed above.

¹⁾ See for a description of this Ms. and others examined in this notice Rieu's Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. under the original Press-mark indicated in [], which denotes the work or works in question.

²⁾ The text of this anecdote has been carefully edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān and suffixed to the *Zubd.* Pt. I, pp. 314-7; see also below, p. 32.

(See *M.R.S.*, pp. 1467, 1468, 1470). But the works of his illustrious grandson Khāwnd-amīr, who wrote mostly in Herāt, are directly influenced by the *Ḥawāmī*'. A few resemblances are found in his earlier works, the *Ma'āthirū'l-Mulūk* and the *Khulāṣatu'l-Akhbar*, while his *Dastūrū'l-Ḥ'usard'*, (composed in 915 A.H. = 1509/10 A.D.) contains at least twenty citations. This Manual of the Wazīrs, like its predecessor the *Āthārū'l-Ḥ'usard'*, is indebted to the wealth of biographical material, scattered throughout the anecdotes of the *Ḥawāmī*', which is indispensable for a thorough understanding of the Eastern method of administration. See [Or. 234 Br. Mus.] f 11 b, f 12 a, f 15 a, f 17 b, ff 18, f 19 a, f 20 a, f 21 a, f 22 b, f 29 a, f 36 a, f 37 a, f 38 b, f 39 a, f 50 a, f 110 a. Then in his *Ḥabībū's-Siyar* composed in 930 A.H. = 1523/4 A.D. two long anecdotes 10 are quoted verbatim in the account of the Barmecides. (1) How a scribe forged a letter and incidentally healed the breach between 'Abdu'llah b. Mālik al-Khuzā'i and Yaḥyā b. Khālid the Barmecide. (D. f 180 a. II. xxiii. 1503) = *Kh.H.S.* Vol. II. *juz* iii, pp. 18-9. (2) The proscription by the Caliph Hārūn of the lamentation over the Barmecides, and the account of Mundhir b. Mughīra concerning their generosity. 15 (D. f 146 a. II. xiv. 1411) = *Kh.H.S.* Vol. II, *juz* iii, p. 24.

In the *Laṭī'if-
u'l-Ṭawā'if*
and *Ta'rikh-i-
Abū'l-Khayr*,
Khānī (v).

Then 'Alī, the son of Ḥusayn al-Wā'iz al-Kāshifī, modelled his *Laṭ'ifū't-Ṭawā'if* (composed in 939 A.H. = 1532/3 A.D.) on the lines of the *Ḥawāmī*'. Although he has surpassed al-'Awfī in systematic classification of the groups, the material has lost much of historical accuracy in transition. Two direct quotations from the *Ḥawāmī*' 20 as the work of Saḍīd-i-'Awfī are found in [Add. 18,408 Br. Mus.] on f 19 b and 35 b, but in every chapter the *Ḥawāmī*' has constantly been used, barring those taken from other sources and added by the author himself. And again in the *Ta'rikh-i-Abū'l-Khayr Khānī* written by Mas'ūd(i) b. 'Uthmān Kūhistānī for the Uzbek ruler 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf Khān of Samarqand after 947 A.H. = 1540/1 A.D., an extract, from the anecdote 25 of the tailor, the tyrannical chief, the significance of the former's prayer-call at unusual hours, and a rape, is given in an altered form. This story also occurs in the *Faraj*, and the *Siyāsat-nūma*; a comparison of the text of each will perhaps show the changes which anecdotes undergo in transmigration. Cf. *T.F.S.*, pt. II, pp. 17-9, *N.S.N.*¹⁾, pp. 45-54, (A. f 126 a. I. vi. 399) = [Add. 26,188 Br. Mus.] f 66 b. 30

In the *Ta'rikh-i-
Nigārīstān*,
*Ta'rikh-i-
Nigārīstān*,
and *Mi'āt al-
Adwādī*, (v).

In the latter half of this century three other writers acknowledge the importance of the *Ḥawāmī*'. The Qādhi Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī of Qazwīn, like most of the previous historians, refers to our author in connection with the *Ḥawāmī*' in his *Nusakh-i-Ḥāshīn Arā* composed in 972 A.H. = 1564/5 A.D., [Or. 141 Br. Mus.] f 118 b; but in his *Ta'rikh-i-Nigārīstān* composed earlier in 957 A.H. = 1551/2 A.D., at least 35 10 direct quotations can be discovered. These are of the nature of those in the *Nuṣḥat* mentioned above. Short parallel references are given to the Bombay lithographed edition of the *Nigārīstān* published in 1829 A.D.

- (1) The letter of the Caliph 'Umar to the Nile. (A. f 39 a. I. iii. 80) = p. 211.
- (2) The wondrous dream of Sabuktigīn in 361 A.H.. (A. f 233 a. I. xxi. 1072) = p. 95. 40
- (3) The interpretation of the Caliph 'Alī's seven scourges to al-Mutawwakil in his dream. (A. f 236 b. I. xxi. 1089) = p. 63.

¹⁾ i. e. the *Siyāsat-nama* of the Niẓāmū'l-Mulūk, (Pers. Text.) ed. by C. Schefer.

- (4) The caution of Amír Ismá'íl the Sámánid in arresting Muḥammad Hárún Sarakhsí, the rebel governor of Jurján. (D. f 157b. II. xvii. 1447) = p. 149.
 - (5) al-Ḥajjáj's *dinár* and justification of his double-edged policy. (D. f 236b. III. xii. 1669) = p. 303.
 - (6) Aḥmad b. Mudbir's omen, deliverance, and appointment as governor of Sham by al-Mutawakkil. (D. f 20a. IV. iv. 1842) = p. 60.
 - (7) Presage of being killed by a beast. (D. f 29b. IV. ix. 1868) = p. 114.
 - (8) Joint-twins presented to Násiru'd-Dawla. (D. f 60b. IV. xiv. 1940) = p. 131.
 - (9) A monstrous birth in the time of Iltutmish. (D. f 60b. IV. xiv. 1942) = p. 273.
 - (10) The mystery of the idol at Somnát. (D. f 77b. IV. xx. 1996) = p. 100.
- Then Khwarsháh b. Qubád al-Ḥusaynī in his *Ta'rikh-i-Ilchi-i-Nizámsháh*, composed in 917 A.H. 1511½ A.D. for Ibráhím Quṭbsháh of Golkunda (now under the territory of H. E. H. The Nizám of Ḥaydarábád Dakan), besides acknowledging the *Ḥawámi'* as one of its sources in [Add. 23,513 Br. Mus.] on f 3a and referring to our author on f 183a, bears traces of its influence on f 55a, f 56a, f 57a, f 206, though without mention. One instance, the appearance of Zoroaster in the reign of Gushtásp on f 55a, is striking as it exhibits a twofold source. Cf. (A. f 60a. I. iv. 141), *Ḥámi'u't Tawárikh-i-Rashidi* [Add. 7628 Br. Mus.] f 250a. Similarly the *Mir'áti'l-Adwár* of Musliḥu'd-Dín al-Lári composed about 974 A.H. = 1566/7 A.D. bears a few traces. In the case of two anecdotes about Abú Sa'íd b. Abi'l-Khayr the source is not mentioned. Cf. *M.A.T.*, pp. 70, 141-2, (A. ff 45. I. iii. 111-112), *Mir'at* [Add. 7650 Br. Mus.] f 119a. With this account we close the survey of the influence of the *Ḥawámi'* on the tenth century writers.

The *Zinatu'l-Majális* as an adaptation of the *Ḥawámi'*, (xi).

In the eleventh century A.H. there are found at least three authors who had a direct knowledge of the *Ḥawámi'*. The first being Muḥammad Majdu'd-Dín al-Majdí al-Ḥusaynī or Ḥasanī, who compiled, probably in Káshán, the *Zinatu'l-Majális*¹⁾ [Or. 238 Br. Mus.] in 1004 or 1025 A.H. = 1595/6 or 1616 A.D., which is no more than an unscrupulous adaptation of the *Ḥawámi'*, with supplementary material. This work of al-'Awfī appears to have suffered a similar fate to that of the *Lubáb*, as the *Zinatu'l-Majális* and the *Bazm-Áráy*²⁾ stand in the same category of daring plagiarism, although Majdu'd-Dín in his preface to the *Zinat* f 1b submits a comparatively modest claim and acknowledges the *Ḥawámi'* as one of its sources. He has altered the division of chapters, and actually intended to divide the book into 10 parts (*Ajzú'*) further subdivided into 10 sections (*faṣls*). Thus the very headings, the arrangement of anecdotes, the wording of the *Ḥawámi'* are entirely copied, excepting the introductions and eulogies of al-'Awfī in each chapter. This work has been discussed by Barbier de Meynard and Sir William Ouseley and in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, and two lithographs of it have been published at Tíhrán, in 1262 and 1270 A.H.

Citations in the *Ta'rikh-i-Firishita*, (xi).

The second author is Muḥammad Qásim b. Hindúsháh of Astarábád, in whose *Ta'rikh-i-Firishita* (composed in 1015 A.H. = 1606/7 A.D.) besides references to the author under the reigns of Qabácha and Iltutmish, occur two quotations, one³⁾ in the

¹⁾ See Rieu, cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II, p. 758-9. On f 176a, 1025 A.H. as the current year.

²⁾ See *Lubáb*, Pt. I, Pers. Int. p. a.

³⁾ Cf. above I. 10.

account of Sultan Maḥmūd, (D. f 776. IV. xx. 1996) = *B.T.F.* Vol. I, p. 60, and another in that of the Sultan Raḥīyyu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm of Ghazna. The Imām Yūnus of Sajāwandī's threatening sermons to the Sultan (D. f 105a. II. iv. 1230) = *B.T.F.*, Vol. I, p. 83. Yet another anecdote quoted without acknowledgement resembles closely the wording of the *Ḥawāmī*', concerning the respect of the Sultan for his order to a load-bearer, 5 who laid down a heavy stone in a field, which was lying there for a long time, even though it was an obstacle to the royal cavalry. (D. f 188a. II. xxiv. 1525) = *B.T.F.*, Vol. I, p. 84.

In the *Zafar u'l-*Wálīh**, an Arabic History of Gujrat, (x1).

Perhaps the first quotations that have been translated into Arabic appear in an Arabic History of Gujrat entitled *Zafaru'l-Wálīh bi Muṣaffar wa Álih*, composed 10 by 'Abdu'llah Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Makkī al-Áṣafī Ulugh-Khání between 1014-1020 A.H. = 1605-1611 A.D. This work has been edited by Sir E. Denison Ross¹⁾ in three volumes, and in each volume one exact quotation occurs. Under the year 625 A.H. = 1228 A.D. in the reign of Iltutmish, (Vol. II, p. 696) a short account of al-'Awfī and the *Ḥawāmī*' is given in connection with the conquest of 15 Uchcha and the defeat of Qabácha. The preface of the *Ḥawāmī*' (A. f 21a) is translated in extenso, even the couplet in Persian which Qabácha addressed to himself before drowning is quoted verbatim. Again under the year 946 A.H. = 1539/40 A.D., in two different volumes two anecdotes are cited from the *Ḥawāmī*' in illustration of similar historical ruses. The first, the ruse of 'Abdu'llah b. 'Ámir [b. Kurayz] at the 20 time of the conquest of Nishápúr in 31 A.H. = 651/2 A.D., that of sending wooden boxes packed with armed men into the fort, is cited in illustration of the artifice of Shér Sháh during the capture of the fort of Ruhtás. (A. f 1746. I. xiii. 678) = Vol. III, p. 983-5. The second artifice is that of the great Saljúq Wazír Nizámu'l-Mulk in acquiring a piece of land in Constantinople from the Qayṣar of Rúm covering the 25 skin of a bull, which is quoted as a parallel to the craftiness of the Portuguese in acquiring a harbouring place from the Sultán Bahádur-sháh of Gujrat, at Dayw (or Diu). (A. f 188a. I. xiv. 746) = Vol. I, pp. 252, 254-5.

In the *Nawádir u'n-Nuqúl*, (xii).

The last work, with which the survey of the influence of the *Ḥawāmī*' closes, lies in the twelfth century A.H.. It is a collection of historical anecdotes from various 30 sources, entitled the *Nawádiru'n-Nuqúl fi Ma'áthir-i'l-'Uqúl* [Add. 25,834 Br. Mus.], compiled by Abu'l-Faṭḥ b. Muṣaffar in 1151 A.H. = 1738/9 A.D. The plan of this book is probably based on the chapter-headings of the *Ḥawāmī*', but the author in his preface on f 3a has acknowledged his indebtedness duly and has quoted faithfully. In the latter half of this book a considerable number of anecdotes of various eminent 35 persons are incorporated from the *Ḥawāmī*'.

Retrospection.

Roughly speaking, some twenty works, written in Persia, India and Asia Minor from a time soon after the completion of the *Ḥawāmī*' about 630 A.H. = 1232/3 A.D. down to the 12th century of the *Hijra*, have utilised this work in different connections, as has been shown above. But the importance of this work has not yet 40 been realised as a whole. In the above survey those works are recorded which have come under the notice of the present writer, but there may be others hitherto

¹⁾ The present writer is indebted to him for these references and unpublished material from this book.

undiscovered, which would further reveal the influence of this work in the past ages.

Turkish
versions of the
Ḥawāmī, and
abridgements,
(ix—xii)

It appears from the number of the Turkish translations of the *Ḥawāmī* that this book was once very popular in Turkey, and was highly appreciated by the Ottoman Sultans and poets. H. Khalfa (Vol. II, pp. 510/1) mentions three translations and one abridgement. The first is by the famous Ibn 'Arabshāh, the well-known author of the *'Ajd'ibū'l-Maḡdūr*, who translated it by order of the Sultan Murād II (reigned 824–855 A.H. = 1421–1451 A.D.). In the Preface¹⁾ to the Turkish version of the above work, the translator, Murteḏhā Nāẓimī Zādeh enumerates among the works of Ibn 'Arabshāh, this first Translation of the *Ḥawāmī*, but there exists no copy of it in Europe at present, so far as appears from the catalogues of the various great libraries. The work was translated a second time by the poet Nejātī for the Prince Sultan Maḥmūd (1451–1481 A.D.), and apparently this is also lost; even Hammer-Purgstall in his *Gesch. der Osmanischen Dichtkunst* (Vol. I, p. 166) does not say whether any copy of it is extant.²⁾ There exists one Turkish version in the Vienna Library (see Flügel's Cat. No. 423, Vol. I, p. 143), but it is not certain whose version it is, Ibn 'Arabshāh's or Nejātī's or Šālīḥ b. Jalāl's. A third Translation by Šālīḥ b. Jalāl, who prepared it at the request of Sultan Bāyazīd b. Sulaymān (d. 973 A.H. = 1565 A.D.), exists in the Bodleian Library (see [Sale 47] Ethé Cat. Bodl. No. 331, column 179a). An abridgement by Muḥammad b. As'ad b. 'Abdu'llah at-Tustarī, mentioned by H. Khalfa, is preserved in the Nūr-i-'Uthmāniyya Library. There is another abridged and excerpted version called the *Kitābu'l-'Ajd'ib wa'l-Gharā'ib* in the Br. Mus. [Or. 1874], dated 1133 A.H. = 1721 A.D.. The number of the fine royal codexes described later on in the *Descriptive List of the Mss.*, especially the Mss. B., F., G., H., I., J transcribed in India, Persia and Turkey also show that this work was once very popular.

Utilisation in
the xiii—xiv
centuries A.H.
= ix—xx A.D.

Among the Oriental scholars who have actually utilised this work, the name of Sir William Ouseley comes first. During his travels in Persia (1810–2 A.D.), speaking about Iṣṭakhr and "*Zend u Pēzend*", he quotes the *Ḥawāmī'u'l-Hikāyāt* from the account of Zoroaster, (D. f 219a. III, viii. 1619) = *Travels etc.* Vol. II, pp. 363–4 and incidentally speaks about the Mss. of this work. Then Edward Thomas of the Bengal Civil Service, the editor of J. Prinsep's *Essays on Indian Antiquities etc.* published in 1858 A.D. cites the anecdote of "Amr b. Layth and Kamlū, (A. f 164a. I. xii. 631) = Vol. I, pp. 317–8 and likewise speaks of the Mss. in his possession. Next comes J. Dowson, the editor of the *History of India etc.* by Sir H. M. Elliot (published in 1867–77 A.D.), who has utilised a considerable number of anecdotes concerning the early history of India (Vol. II, pp. 155–203). The *Ḥawāmī* was also utilised in 1900 A.D. from a critical point of view by Prof. W. Barthold³⁾, in his work in Russian called "*Turkistān at the time of the Mongol Invasion*", (Pers. Extracts, Vol. I, pp. 83–101), in which about 25 original anecdotes bearing upon Turkistān are incorporated; and in his article "*Zur Geschichte der Saffariden*" in the *Nöldeke-Festschrift* (I, p. 175–6) he has discussed the importance of the anecdotes of the Šaffārids in the *Ḥawāmī*, as will be noticed in the next chapter. Then Prof. J. Marquart³⁾ of Berlin in

¹⁾ See Cat. of Turkish Mss. in the Br. Mus. [Add. 7847] p. 43.

²⁾ See also Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 102, footnote.

³⁾ The present writer is personally indebted to both of these scholars for these references.

his "*Ērānsahr*" (published in 1901), pp. 295-8, refers to the anecdotes about Zabulistan and in his article "Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Volkerkunde von Mittel-asien und Siberien" (p. 296) quotes from the account of the valley of Kharkhíz (D. f 67 a. IV, \vi. 1967) about the West-Siberian tribes, and directs attention to the ethnological side of the geography of Turkistán. Then M. Clément Huart cites one anecdote (D. f 69 b. IV, \vii. 1972) 5 with its translation in French, in the Documents persans sur l'Afrique — l'Extrait du "Djawamī' 'el-Ḥikāyāt" de Djémāl-Ouddīn Moḥammed 'Aufī — published in the *Recueil de Mémoires Orientaux*, 1905 (see pp. 102-103).

Again in 1906 A.D. in the Persian Introduction to the first part of the *Lubāb*, the literary value of the *Ḥawāmī'* has been duly emphasised by Mīrzā Muḥammad 10 Khān of Qazwīn, whose interest in the present work and the publication of its entire text is enormous. (See *Lubāb*, Pt. I, pp. 314-7 for a long citation concerning the epistle of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn al-Aṣamm, the secretary of the Sultan Sanjar).

Recently a few anecdotes from the first part of the *Ḥawāmī'*, chapter xx "On Physicians", have been used by Prof. E. G. Browne, in his excellent "*Arabian* 15 *Medicine*" (pp. 78-79), being the Fitzpatrick Lectures delivered at the College of Physicians in November 1919 and November 1920 A.D.

To conclude, the encyclopaedic contents of this work have created diverse interests, and have been considered as an authentic source of valuable information for different branches of study from the earliest days down to modern times, as has been pointed 20 out in this chapter.

CHAPTER III.

A CONSPECTUS OF THE SOURCES OF THE
JAWÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT (pp. 33-103)

WITH A LIST OF 37 IMPORTANT NOTICES CONTRIBUTED
TO THIS WORK

A CONSPECTUS OF THE SOURCES OF THE *ḤAWĀMI'U'L-HIKĀYĀT*.

Numerical
index to the
Conspectus

Among the innumerable works which our author utilised for the compilation of this work, only 93 are mentioned¹⁾, in one way or another, throughout the array of anecdotes; and the names of about 45 authors are given along with the works; out of which nearly 35 sources have been completely identified and established, and about 43 are traceable, while the remaining 15 are either lost or hitherto unknown. 5

Difficulty of
identification.

The vague manner in which al-'Awfī alludes to different works, and the inexact titles by which he refers to them, render identification extremely difficult, but nevertheless, there is one great consolation, that whenever an original source is traced, he redeems himself by his fidelity and intelligent adaptation. Such instances are many, and they will be shown in the course of our examination of individual works in the accompanying *Conspectus*. 10

Only promi-
nent sources
discussed.

Although the sources of our author are not unique, yet they are typical; hence they possess a special importance, and contribute to the authenticity of the material contained in the *Ḥawāmi'*. On a systematic analysis of the anecdotes, firstly, it is observable that these sources represent the literature of the period or subject with which our author was intimately acquainted; secondly, he utilised the ample material 15 at his disposal to the best advantage; and thirdly, the encyclopaedic nature of the anecdotes made it necessary for him to see more than one book on each subject, and sift suitable material for his own purpose. For these reasons a thorough analysis of the sources is out of the question; we cannot say with certainty that these anecdotes were actually taken from such and such a source, except occasionally when the author 20 himself acknowledges them. This investigation of some of the most prominent sources of the *Ḥawāmi'* is chiefly based on the works mentioned by the author, and on others, which though unmentioned are yet established by parallel citations and other critical canons, whereas the rest are noticed briefly in the *Table of Contents* as they occur in the anecdotes. 25

A List of the Sources described in the *Conspectus*.

- (1) a. (*Āthār-u'l-Bāqiyā*) of al-Bīrūnī.
b. (*Kitābu'l-Hind*) of al-Bīrūnī.
- (2) a. *Iḥyā'u 'Ulūmi'd-Dīn* and *Kimiyā'u's-Sa'adat* of al-Ghazālī.
b. (*at-Tibru'l-Masbūk fi Naṣiḥati'l-Mulūk*) of al-Ghazālī.
- (3) *Akhbār-i-Bardmika* (indefinite).

30

¹⁾ See below, *Alphabetical List* of all the works mentioned in the *Ḥawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt*.

- (4) a. *Adyānu'l-'Arab* (of Hishām ibnu'l-Kalbī).
 b. *Tafsīr-i-Ibnu'l-Kalbī* (of Muḥammad b. as-Sā'ib b. Bishr al-Kalbī).
- (5) *(Asrārū't-Tawḥīd fi Maqāmātī'sh-Shaykh Abī Sa'īd)*.
- (6) *A'rūdhu'r-Riyāsa fi -Ighrādhi's-Siyāsa* (of az-Zahīrī as-Samarqandī).
- (7) a. *Injil* (or the Gospels of Manes.)
 b. *Kitābu'sh-Shōburgān* (of Manes).
 c. *Kanzu'l-Iḥyā'* (of Manes).
 d. *Sifru'l-Jabbīra* (of Manes).
 e. *Sifru'l-Asrār* (of Manes).
 } see the notice on 'The five works of Manes
 mentioned in the *Fawāmi'u'l-Hikāyat*.'
- (8) *Ta'rikh-i-Baghdād* (indefinite). 5
- (9) *Ta'rikh-i-Tāji* (of Ibrāhīm aṣ-Ṣābī).
- (10) *Ta'rikh-i-Turkistān* of Majdu'd-Dīn b. 'Adnān as-Surkhakātī.
- (11) *Ta'rikh-i-Khurāsān* (of as-Sallāmī).
- (12) *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā'-i-bani'l-'Abbās* (of Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī ash-Shaṭranjī).
- (13) *Ta'rikhu't-Ṭabari* of Muḥammad b. Jarīr at-Ṭabarī. 15
- (14) *Ta'rikh-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Khurāsān* (indefinite).
- (15) *Ta'rikh-i-Maqdisi* (of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhīr al-Maqdisī).
- (16) *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam* (indefinite), (with a notice of other similar sources).
- (17) a. *Ta'rikh-i-Nāṣiri* (of Abū'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqī).
 b. *Ta'rikh-i-Yamīni* of Abū'n-Naṣr al-'Uṭbī. 20
- (18) a. *at-Taysīr fi't-Tafsīr* of Najmu'd-Dīn 'Umar an-Nasafī.
 b. *'Uyūnu'l-'Akhḡār* (a work ascribed to an-Nasafī, but unidentifiable).
- (19) *Khalqu'l-Insān* of Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad called Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq of Nīshāpūr.
- (20) *Khawāṣṣ-i-Ashyā'* of Majdu'd-Dīn b. 'Adnān as-Surkhakātī.
- (21) *Dastūru'l-I'wazād* of Sultān Radhīyyu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm of Ghazna. 25
- (22) *Ra'y-Ārāy* the Persian Translation of ath-Tha'ālibī's *Ghurār wa Siyar* by Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq of Nīshāpūr.
- (23) *Rabī'u'l-Abrār* of az-Zamakhsharī.
- (24) *ar-Risālatu'l-Qushayriyya*.
- (25) a. *Sindbōd-nāma* (the two prose versions of Daqā'iqī of Marw and of Zahīrī of 30
 Samarqand). b. *Bakhtiyār-nāma*.
- (26) *(Siyāsāt-nāma)* of the Nizāmu'l-Mulk (a comparative study).
- (27) *ash-Shabīb wa'sh-Shayb* of al-Marzubānī.
- (28) *Sharafu'n-Nabī* (probably of Abū Sa'd 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Abī 'Uṭhmān Muḥammad
 al-Khargūshī, the famous preacher of Nīshāpūr). 35
- (29) *Ṭabā'i'u'l-Ḥayawān* of Sharafu'z-Zamān Ṭāhīr al-Marwazī.
- (30) *Ghurār wa Siyar* of Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abdu'l-Malik ath-Tha'ālibī.
- (31) *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* of at-Tanūkhī.
- (32) *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* (Persian Translation by al-'Awfī).
- (33) *(Qābūs-nāma)* of 'Unṣuru'l-Ma'ālī Kay-Kā'ūs. 40
- (34) *Kitābu'l-Ḥayawān* of al-Jāhīz (with a notice of other works on natural history).
- (35) *Kitābu'l-Firdāsa* (probably referring to a translation of the work of Polemon).
- (36) *Kitābu'l-Maghāzi* of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.
- (37) *The Masālik wa Mamālik* (a notice on the cosmographical portions in the *Fawāmi'*).

(1) a. *The Āthār u'l-Bāqiyā*¹).

The two works of al-Bīrūnī directly utilised.

This is one of those sources not mentioned directly, yet established completely after textual comparison. Throughout the entire collection consisting of 2,113 anecdotes, only three times is al-Bīrūnī named (by his *Kunya*, Abū Rayḥān) in connection with his works. But on comparison of the portions of the *Ḥawāṣi*² noticed below, it is found that at least two of the famous works of al-Bīrūnī have been utilised, viz., the *Āthār u'l-Bāqiyā* and *Kitābun fi Tahqiq-i-mā li'l-Hind*.

Parallel references.

al-ʿAwfī is directly indebted to the *Āthār* for the earlier part of his chapter on 'Pseudo-prophets', which exactly corresponds with the eighth chapter in al-Bīrūnī. (Parallel references are given in the *Table of Contents*: Part III, ch. viii. Anecdotes 1622—1625 = *Āthār* pp. 207—9, 210—211).

10

Method of utilisation.

Although al-ʿAwfī had more than one source for these anecdotes, yet the influence of al-Bīrūnī on this chapter is predominant, the whole account of Manes in the *Ḥawāṣi* (D. f 219 b. III. viii. 1622), being based on the *Āthār*, pp. 207—9. The arrangement of the anecdote is altered but the contents are the same and it is nothing more than an abridged Persian version of the account of Manes from the *Āthār*. al-Bīrūnī has mentioned only 5 works of Manes, and these very five works are also enumerated in the *Ḥawāṣi*. Again the account of Mazdak begins as it is found in the *Āthār*, but the lacuna in the Arabic text of Sachau (p. 209) cannot very well be supplemented by the Persian version of this anecdote³) from the *Ḥawāṣi*. Further on, the account of Māh-āfarīd or Bih-āfarīdh, as al-Bīrūnī calls him, agrees very closely; then follows the account of al-Muqannaʿ which is similar in both. Therefore, the debt of al-ʿAwfī to al-Bīrūnī is considerable.

b. *The Kitābu'l-Hind*¹).

Only one citation from the *Kitābu'l-Hind*.

One concrete example of the utilisation of this work is the account of the animal Sharw. (D. f 91 b. IV. xxiii. 2057 = *Indica*, Text, p. 99, ll. 14—7). While describing the various types of strange animals, al-ʿAwfī inserts this extract from the *Indica*, about Sharw or 'Shérú, an animal of the rhinoceros species, which is found in the forests of Konkon, called Dának, a sea-coast place, situated to the south of Samhita, in India.

(2) a. *The Iḥyā' u'Ulūmī'd-Dīn*.

Reference to these works but no citation.

This famous work of al-Ghazālī, surnamed Iḥijjatu'l-Islām, (d. 1111 A. D.), *Iḥyā' u'Ulūmī'd-Dīn* or the "Revivification of the Religious Sciences", and its epitomised Persian version the *Kimīyā-yi-Saʿādat* or "The Alchemy of Happiness", are mentioned by al-ʿAwfī, in connection with the controversial problem of *Samāʿ*, in his introduction to the chapter on 'Musicians' (A. f 242 b. I. xxiv. Int. 1126).

This controversy is treated at full length in the Bulāq edition of the *Iḥyā'* Pt. II, pp. 229—264, and al-Ghazālī, as a lover of Music, has refuted the theories of the

¹) References to the pages of the Arabic Texts of the *Āthār* = B. A. B. and *Indica* = B. T. H., ed. by E. Sachau. ²) See below Notice No. (25) Anec. No. (27).

theologians against the unlawfulness of hearing music, and has championed the cause of the Šúfis, who considered it as the food of the soul. Our author has simply referred to it, without dilating on the subject, and has proceeded to illustrate his chapter with anecdotes of the musicians. The first anecdote describes the origin of music, and the conception of Pythagoras (circa 582–500 B C.), concerning the scientific arrangement 5 of notes and their influence on the soul. At the end of this long account, the author adds a few words as to why the Prophet proscribed musical revelry.

b. *at-Tibru'l-Masbúk fi Naṣīḥati'l-Mulúk*, of al-Ghazálí.

at-Tibru'l-Masbúk utilised in the *Jawami'*.

This work, though not mentioned anywhere in the *Jawami'*, appears to have been constantly utilised by al-ʿAwfí. It cannot be ascertained whether al-ʿAwfí used the lost Persian original of al-Ghazálí written for Muḥammad b. Maliksháh Saljúqí or the 10 present Arabic version made by ʿAlí b. Mubárah b. Mawhúb for the Atábek Alp (Qutluq of Mawṣil (d. 595 A.H. = 1199 A.D.); but a textual comparison shows that al-ʿAwfí used a fuller text. A few parallel references are noted here: Shaqíq of Balkh's advice to the Caliph Hárún (A. f 196*b*. I. xv. 790) = p. 14; Fudhayl b. ʿIyádh's advice to the same (A. f 197*a*. I. xv. 791) = p. 15; Abú Házim-i-Laffáf's gift to the Caliph Sulaymán 15 (A. f 197*a*. I. xv. 792) = p. 16. This treatise on politics like others, such as Ibn Qutayba's *ʿUyúnul-Akhbár*, al-Máwardí's (d. 450 A.H.) *Aḥkámus-Sultāniyya*, and at-Turtūshí's *Sirájul-Mulúk* and Ibnu'l-Jawzí's tract [Or. 1529 Br. Mus.] offers unique opportunities for parallel references to the anecdotes of the *Jawami'*.

(3). *The Akhbár-i-Barámika* ¹).

Accounts of various works of the same title.

This source remains unidentified. No clue whatsoever is found as to who was the 20 original author of this work, from which al-ʿAwfí borrowed. The fall of the Barmecides took place in the year 803 A.D., and nearly a century and a half later, there is found in the *Fihrist* (p. 134) in the list of Abú ʿAbdillāh al-Marzubání's works (d. 378 A.H. = 988/9 A.D.) a work with the title of *Akhbáru'l-Barámika*, about which Ibnu'n-Nadím, a contemporary of al-Marzubání, says that it contained nearly 500 25 folios. We have some reason to believe in the acquaintance of our author with the works of al-Marzubání, as will be shown in the account of the *Kitábush-Shabáb-i-wa'sh-Shayb* (another source of al-ʿAwfí), but this work like most of al-Marzubání's is completely lost, therefore we cannot arrive at any definite conclusion in this case. Another work of the same title is mentioned by H. Khalfa (Vol. I, p. 185. No. 184) and Ibnu'l-Jawzí (d. 597 A.H. = 1200 A.D.) is said to be the author of it; but apparently that 30 is also lost. Even the Arabic originals of Dhiyá'u'd-Dín Baraní's translation, "*Akhbár-i-Barmakiyán*" for Fírúz Sháh, about 757 A.H. = 1356 A.D., prepared a century later

¹) See, for a critical estimate of the Barmecides, W. Barthold's article in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 663–6; and for the sources of their history, L. Bouvat's "*Les Barmécides d'après les Historiens Arabes et Persans*", pp. 5–23. (On p. 19, he incorrectly mentions Jamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí († 854 = 1450) as one of the authors of a work, written for the Wazír Nuṣṣámu'l-Mulk; and again mentions "*Jami'u'l-Hikayat*". This work and its author are no other than the present *Jawami'u'l-Hikayat*, and Sadídu'd-Dín Muḥammad al-ʿAwfí).

than al-'Awfi's time, are not well established (see Cat. Pers. Mss. [Or. 151 Br. Mus.] Vol. I, pp. 333-4); therefore this source cannot be established with certainty.

Anecdotes
borrowed.

al-'Awfi had more than one source for his anecdotes of the Barmecides¹⁾, as 34 of them are scattered throughout the *Jawami'*²⁾; but he has mentioned the above source three times only:

5

- (1). 'Saliḥ b. 'Khuzayma expresses disbelief in Numán b. 'Abdu'llah's account of the overflowing generosity of Fadhl b. Yaḥyá the Barmecide. (J. f 214b. II. v. 1291).
- (2). 'Qásim 'Ghassán 'Muḥammad 'Ṭá'í's description of Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide's peculiar method of scattering wealth to the winds. (D. f 130a. II. ix. 1341).
- (3). Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide dismisses Sahl (?) b. Nu'aym, one of his officials in 10 charge of Baṣra, on 'Abdu'llah's complaint of his meanness. (D. f 245b. III. xiv. 1694). The first two anecdotes can be verified from Baraní's version³⁾, (pp. 19-20), where Abu'l Qásim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad at Ṭá'if's Arabic original is mentioned.

(4) a. *The Kitáb-i-Adyanu'l-'Arab*.

Identification
of this source.

The account of the conversion of 'Imrán ibnu'l-Ḥuṣayn is borrowed from this work, (A. f 22b. I. i. 7). The identity of the author of this work is conjectural; a work 15 of the same title is recorded in the *Fihrist* (p. 69) under the list of the works of the son of the ancient Commentator, Abu'l-Mundhir Hishám b. Muḥammad b. as-Sá'ib b. Bishr al-Kalbí; moreover in the *Kitábu'l-Aṣnám*⁴⁾ (p. 63) of Hishám Ibnu'l-Kalbí, edited by Aḥmad Zakí Pásha, the title of this book appears in the list of his works.

b. *Tafsir-i-Ibnu'l-Kalbi*.

Indirect in-
debtedness of
al-'Awfi.

Besides this we have reason to assume an indirect acquaintance of al-'Awfi with 20 the elder Ibnu'l-Kalbí's⁴⁾ *Tafsir*, as there are two references to this Commentary on the *Qur'án* (iii, 16; xxv, 40), from which two anecdotes are borrowed

- (1). The Prophet and the two rabbis. (A. f 26b. I. i. 32). Cf. *Ma'álimu't-Tanzil* p. 150.
- (2). Aṣḥábu'r-Rass and how the 'Anqá'-i-mughrib⁵⁾ became extinct. (D. f 93a. IV. xxii. 2067). Unfortunately this work is also lost, but extracts of it are found in the works of az- 25 Zamakhsharí, at-Ṭabarí and al-Baghawí.

(5). *The Asráru't-Tawḥid fi Maqámáti'sh-Shaykh Abi Sa'id*.

The *Asrar* as
a source es-
tablished from
internal evi-
dence.

This is one of those sources, though not mentioned directly, yet established com-
pletely after an investigation of the anecdotes concerning the Shaykh Abú Sa'id b.
Abi'l-Khayr of Mayhana, in the *Jawami'*, and comparison with the *Asráru't-Tawḥid*
of Muḥammad ibnu'l-Munawwar, who composed it from an earlier work, identified 30
as the *Hálat wa Sukhún-i-Shaykh Abi Sa'id ibn Abi'l-Khayr*, by V. A. Zhukovski,

¹⁾ See below, *Reclassification of the Contents*.

²⁾ Bombay litho. 1889.

³⁾ The present writer is indebted to Prof. D. S. Margoliouth for this and many other valuable references.

⁴⁾ See for a critical account of the two Kalbís, Brockelmann's article in *Ency. Islam* (Vol. II, pp. 689-90).

⁵⁾ This story is connected with Ḥanāla b. Ṣafwán, cf. *Beidhawí*, ed. Fleischer, Vol. II, p. 40, II. 9-12.

the editor of both. The date of the composition of this work is not precisely known, but it is certain that it was written at the end of the twelfth century somewhere about 1200 A.D.. Dr. R. A. Nicholson in his masterly monograph on the life and activities of the Shaykh (published in his "*Studies in Islamic Mysticism*") has drawn an actual portrait of him, and unveiled the myths connected with his personality. 5 Nothing more can be added to it from the anecdotes given in the *Ḥawāmī*, because all the eight anecdotes selected by al-'Awfī are directly taken from the *Asrār* (chapter II) in which the Shaykh is shown in the marvellous surroundings, successful display of telepathic powers and glorious achievements, which are attributed to the last period of his life (*i. e. circa* 400-440 A.H. = 1009-1049 A.D.). 10

Anecdotes
borrowed.

In the *Table of Contents* (Pt. I. ch. iii. anecdotes 110-118) parallel references and descriptive titles of the anecdotes of the Shaykh are fully given with a view to establish the authenticity of al-'Awfī; here a few points about his method of utilisation of this source will be sketched.

Comparison
of 'Aṭṭār and
'Awfī's method
of utilisation of
this source.

The third chapter, which contains the anecdotes of the saints, is remarkable for 15 its sources; as they run parallel to those used by his famous contemporary Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār in his *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā'*. The *Risāla* of al-Qushayrī forms the main basis of both, but 'Aṭṭār made a very free use of it, whereas al-'Awfī in relating stories of the older Ṣūfīs kept as far as possible to the original. Coming to Abū Sa'īd, al-'Awfī selected a unique work of its kind, abridged the longer anecdotes from 20 the *Asrār*, and presented them as accurately as possible in his *Ḥawāmī*. On the other hand, 'Aṭṭār most probably had more than one source in this case also, and so his eclectic method did not allow him to be very faithful to the original. *E.g.* the anecdote of a deserted traveller and the tiger-ride-miracle of the Shaykh common to the *Tadhkira* (II, pp. 331-2) and the *Ḥawāmī* (A. f 44b. I. iii. 110), which is evidently taken 25 from the *Asrār* (pp. 76-84) where it is told at a much greater length than in either of these, will illustrate the point, and a comparison of both with the original passage will show the greater accuracy of al-'Awfī, in the utilisation of this source, than of 'Aṭṭār.

(6). *The Kitāb-i-A'rādhu'r-Riyāsa fī Aghrādhi's-Siyāsa*¹).

The anecdote
borrowed from
this source.

This extremely rare work is mentioned only once, as the source of the anecdote of the early appearance of Manes in the reign of Bahrām b. Hurmuz, the Persian 30 King. (A. f 70a. I. iv. 163).

Determination
of the author-
ship of this
work.

The name of the author is not given, but it is the same work which al-'Awfī has himself mentioned in the *Lubdāb*, (I, pp. 91-2) in the biography of its author, Zahrū'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī as-Samarqandī al-Kātib, along with his other works, with a special note about the recasting of the *Sindbād-nāma*. But there is a difference 35 in the title of the work and the name of the author, only so far, that in the Ms. of the *Sindbād-nāma* [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 11b, the author mentions his own name as Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar (or Ḥasan) az-Zahrī al-Kātib as-Samarqandī, and in the Ms. of *A'rādhu'r-Riyāsa* preserved in the Library

¹) See *H. Khal.*, Vol. I, p. 368, no. 986; *Chahār Maqdā*, p. 176, Persian Text; Rieu, Cat. Pers. Mss. Vol. II, p. 748; Leyden Cat. Vol. III, p. 14; also below, Notice (25)a; "*Turkistān*", Extracts in Vol. I, pp. 71-2.

of Leyden [Codex 904 Warn.], the title of the work along with the full name of its author is mentioned as the *A'radhu's-Siydsa fi Aghradhu'r-Riyasa*, without his *Laqab*, Bahá'u'd-Dín, and with Hasan instead of 'Umar as his great-grandfather, which is undoubtedly correct.

Dedicated to Mas'ud b. 'Alí.

This work has been utilised by Prof. Barthold in his "*Turkistán*", and the following is the account given by him in person, for the benefit of the present writer. The Qilij Tamgháj Khán, whom Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín, in connection with the account of the *Sindbád-náma* (*Lubáb* I, pp. 318-9) has identified with the "last but one ruler of the Ilak Kháns" *vis.*, Ibráhm b. al-Ḥusayn, is not the same person. He is Ruknu'd-Dín Mas'ud b. 'Alí who ruled in Samarqand between 1163-1178 A.D.; 10 and whom Ibráhm b. al-Ḥusayn succeeded immediately (1178/9-1200 A.D.).

Date of composition uncertain.

Ethé in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, (Vol. II. p. 258), gives the date of the composition of this work as about 552 A.H. = 1157 A.D. *i. e.* 6 years earlier than the accession of Mas'ud b. 'Alí; whatever the date of the composition may be, it is certain that it was written at about the same time as the *Chahár Maqála*, and 15 it was a rare work even in the days of al-'Awfí, who says in the *Jawámi'* (A. ff. 70) that he has read it, and describes it in the following manner in the *Lubáb*, (I, p. 91-2):

The nature of its contents.

«و اعراض الرياسة في اغراض السياسة از منتآات اوست، بحری زاخر موج او جواهر فاخر، از ابتدای دولت جنید ملك تابعهد سلطنت مخدوم خود لطایف كلام جلگی ملوك پیاورده است و آنرا شرحی زیبا بعبارت دلربا داده و آن نصایف بتمام و کمال درین بلاد و دیار کم مطالعه افتاده است» 20

(7). *The five works of Manes, mentioned in the Jawámi' u'l-Hikayát.*

Reason for including these works in the *Conspectus*.

Although the works enumerated below do not form part of the direct sources of al-'Awfí, they have attracted the attention of ancient and modern writers, and on account of their importance a description of them is given here. As they are mentioned in one anecdote on the life and doctrines of Manes (D. f 219b. III. viii. 1622), it will be convenient to ignore the alphabetical order. 25

al-'Awfí indebted to al-Birúni for this account.

The direct source of this anecdote appears to be the *Ítháru'l-Báqiya*, where these very five works are mentioned, and al-Birúni's source for this account is different from that of Ibnu'n-Nadím¹⁾, al-Mas'údí²⁾, al-Ya'qúbí³⁾, or ash-Shahristání⁴⁾, who are the most important Islamic authorities on the subject.

- a. The *Injíl*, or the Gospel.
- b. The *Kitábu'sh-Sháburqán*, (or The *Sháhpuhrakán* or *Sháhpuuriyyán**⁴⁾).
- c. The *Kanzu'l-Ihyá*, (or *Sifru'l-Ihyá* or *Kanzu'l-Akhbár**⁴⁾).
- d. The *Sifru'l-Jabábirá*, (or *Sifru'l-Jáyiza**⁴⁾).
- e. The *Sifru'l-Asrár*, (or the *Sifru'l-Asfár*).

30

¹⁾ The *Fihrist* contains the fullest account in Arabic on Manes, his doctrines, works etc., pp. 327-338, which forms the basis of G. Flügel's excellent monograph, "*Mani: seine Lehre und seine Schriften*", Leipzig, 1862.

²⁾ *Murúju'dh-Dhahab* (ed. C. B. de Meynard) I. 200-1; VIII. 293; The *Tanbih*, pp. 100, 101, 135.

³⁾ Ibn Wáqih, ed. Houtsma. Vol. I, pp. 180-182.

⁴⁾ *Kitábu'l-Milal-i-wa'n-Nihál* (Arabic text) ed. Cureton, pp. 188-192.

Short notes
on these five
works of Manes

- a. The *Injil*¹⁾, or the Gospel, about which Flügel²⁾ is silent, contained according to al-Bíruní 22 Gospels, "which he arranged after the letters of the alphabet: twenty-two letters." (In Syriac, the number of letters is 22, but in the *Fihrist* (p. 17) the letters of Manes are said to exceed the Arabic alphabet.) Further, al-Bíruní mentions a few doctrines from the Gospels, which are the cardinal principles of his religion. 5 (pp. 207-8.)
- b. The *Kitábu'sh-Sháburqán*³⁾, which is the only one written in Persian, as its title and object indicate, is characterised by al-Bíruní, who shows an intimate knowledge of the work, as "of all Persian books one that may be relied upon", since "Mání in his law has forbidden telling lies, and he had no need whatever for falsifying 10 history"⁴⁾. (See, Flügel's *Mani*, No. 322, p. 365, for other particulars). This work contained three chapters, which are enumerated in the *Fihrist*, (p. 336, l. 16). Ya'qúbí, Mas'údí and Shahristání also quote from it.
- c. The *Kanzu'l-Ihyá* or *Sifru'l-Ihyá* (or *Ahyá*), the origin and identification of which is so ably discussed by Flügel, (No. 324, p. 367-9), is described by al-Ya'qúbí 15 as containing, "an account of the salvation wrought by the Light and the corruption wrought by the Darkness."
- d. The *Sifru'l-Jabábir*, or the Book of the Giants; again Flügel (No. 320 p. 362-3), discussing the nature and contents of this work, on the authority of Mosheim writes, "Dass Mání hier überhaupt von seiner Dämonologie, von dem Wesen der 20 Dämonen in seiner Gesamtheit gehandelt hat."
- e. The *Sifru'l-Asrár*, which is also mentioned by other authorities as *Sifru'l-Asfár*, is the first work mentioned among the Syriac written works of Manes in the *Fihrist*, where its chapter headings are enumerated. (See, Flügel No. 307, pp. 354-6, for other particulars.) 25

Besides these, in the *Fihrist* (pp. 336-7) nearly 77 tracts of Manes⁵⁾ and other chief Manichaeans are enumerated, in which, according to al-Bíruní, "he asserted that he explained what the Messiah had (only) hinted."

This anecdote of Manes and Manichaean religion is entirely based on al-Bíruní's account in the *Áthár* (pp. 207-8), just like some other accounts⁶⁾ of the great 'Heresiarchs.' 30

(8). *The Ta'rikh-i-Baghdád*.

Only one
anecdote with
acknowledgement.

This important work is mentioned once only, without the name of the author, in connection with the anecdote of the infatuation of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. Thábit, who had gone from Raqqa to the Madínatu's-Salám (Baghdád), and there

¹⁾ al-Bíruní and al-Ya'qúbí make a passing mention, whereas a work *al-Jabilla*, which occurs in different forms, is likely to be the Gospels.

²⁾ Since this *Injil* is not mentioned in the List of Manes's works in the *Fihrist* pp. 336-7.

³⁾ The Arabic form of "the work written for Shápur", the then reigning Persian king.

⁴⁾ See Professor Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 154-6, Manes and Manichaeans.

⁵⁾ See, for a bibliography of the works of Manes, A. von Le Coq's article, "On . . . Expedition to Turfán" etc., in *JRAS.* (1909) p. 301; also an article by A. V. Williams Jackson, on, "The so-called Injunctions of Mani" etc. *JRAS.* (1924) pp. 213-227.

⁶⁾ See *Table of Contents* Pt. III, ch. viii, for parallel references, and the preceding Notice No. (1)a.

seeing a girl was almost lost in her love, but being unsuccessful, took up an ascetic life and became famous as one of the holy men of Baghdád, (D. f 35a. IV. x. 1888).

Not traceable
in the Khaṭīb's
nor Tayfur's
histories.

In the extant portions of the Mss.¹⁾ of Abú Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdádī's (392-463 A. H. = 1002-1071 A. D.) famous History of Baghdád called *the Ta'rikh-i-Madinatu's-Salám*, especially under the section of the Muḥammadún, 5 this anecdote is not traceable, nor in the *Ta'rikh-i-Baghdád* of Abu'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭáhir Ṭayfur al-Baghdádī (204-80 A. H.), the predecessor of the Khaṭīb, in the seventh part rescued from oblivion by Dr. H. Keller, which deals with the early part of the Caliphate of al-Ma'mún; nor in the *Maṣṣarī'u'l-'Ushshuq* of Abú Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja'far as-Sarráj (d. 500 A. H.), who collected the anecdotes of lovers from earlier sources 10 and especially from the Khaṭīb himself; therefore this source remains unidentified.

(9). *The Ta'rikh-i-Tájī*²⁾.

Only one
anecdote with
acknowledgement.

This famous work of Abú Ishāq Ibráhīm³⁾ b. Hilál al-Ḥarránī aṣ-Ṣābī (d. 384 A. H. = 994 A. D.) is mentioned once, as the source of the anecdote⁴⁾ about the domination of the Buwayhid, Mu'izzu'd-Dawla Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad over the Caliphate, his exasperation at the contradictory reports received from the court of the Sámánids 15 concerning the intrigue of the Caliph al-Mustakfī, whom he had relieved from the clutches of the Turkish guards, and the brutal murder of the Caliph al-Mustakfī by the Daylamites in 334 A. H., (A. f 115b. I. v. 345).

aṣ-Ṣābī's sar-
castic remark
about his own
work.

According to Miskawayh's *Tajāribu'l-'Umam*, Yāqūt's *Irshādu'l-Arib*, and Ibn-Khallikán's *Wafayātu'l-A'yān*, the author, is said to have described this history of 20 the Buwayhids, which he composed for 'Adhdu'd-Dawla, after whose title '*Tājū'l-Milla*' it was called *Kitābu't-Tájī* (commonly known as *Ta'rikh-i-Tájī*), as "a pack of lies"; but since the author was compiling it under duress and in prison, his sarcastic remark should be accepted with due modification, for it is reported that 'Adhdu'd-Dawla supervised it; and apart from this, the extracts and references to this work 25 in later authorities⁵⁾ show that at least the records of contemporary events by the author were of extreme value in determining the authenticity of the historical accounts concerning the ascendancy of the Daylamites over the Caliphate. Prof. Margoliouth also holds a similar view.

Identification
of this source
through para-
llel citations.

Unfortunately, this work like his *Rasā'il* and others has come down to us only 30 in extracts, and the original is lost, therefore it is not possible to establish the debt of al-'Awfī to Ibráhīm the Sabian. There are nearly 22 anecdotes⁶⁾ in the *Ḥawāṣi* about the Buwayhids, but there is no acknowledgement of their sources, except in

¹⁾ G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique a l'Histoire de Bagdad*, p. 11-12; Mr. F. Krenkow's article, *JRAS.* (1912) pp. 31-79; also Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 329.

²⁾ *Fihrist*, p. 134; *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 94. No. 2061.

³⁾ *Ency. Islam*, Mr. F. Krenkow's article on 'al-Ṣābī', Vol. IV, pp. 19-21; Yāqūt, *Irshādu'l-Arib*, Vol. I, pp. 324-58; Ibn Khallikán (Wüst.) *Biog.* No. 14; also *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate* ed. by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth = *Eclipse*, Vol. III, pp. 21, 22, 23, 53, 59, 404.

⁴⁾ For verifying this anecdote see *Eclipse*, Vol. II, pp. 86-7.

⁵⁾ Largely utilised by Ibnu'l-Athīr, Ibn Isfandiyār, Miskawayh, al-'Utbi, Hilál aṣ-Ṣābī and ath-Tha'ālibī.

⁶⁾ See *Reclassification of the Contents*. [s. v. Buwayhids].

the anecdote referred to above, nor any mention of his grandson's works ¹⁾, the Chronicle of Hilál b. Muḥassin (359-448 A.H. = 970-1056 A.D.) and his *Kitábul-Wuzará'*; so we can only identify this source from other parallel citations.

(10). *The Ta'rikh-i-Turkistán* ²⁾.

Mention of this work under two titles.

This important, but unfortunately lost work of Majdu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. 'Adnán as-Surkhakatí, the maternal uncle of al-'Awfí, is mentioned under two names, once as ⁵ the *Ta'rikh-i-Máward'u'n-Nahr*, and in the subsequent anecdote as the *Ta'rikh-i-Turkistán*.

The two anecdotes borrowed from it.

The first anecdote is that of a King of Khurásán who employed Negroes in his army, to fight against the people of Turkistán, who lived beyond the Oxus, and were frightened to death at the sight of Negroes, (D. f 69b. IV. vii. 1973).

The second anecdote is about the earliest marriage between Irán and Turkistán, in which the ruler of Irán called 'Ḥastawayh or 'Ḥasanawayh or 'Ḥaswayh (?) sends a Negro as a present to the ruler of Turkistán, called 'Tukaj or 'Balaj or 'Balah (?), who in the end usurps the throne, and makes himself independent, and from him the name Qará Khán originated (D. f 70a. IV. xvii. 1974).

al-'Awfí himself gives a short account of this work.

In the second anecdote al-'Awfí makes a passing mention of this work and says that his uncle had prepared a history of the rulers of Turkistán, in which he discussed at length the history of the Turks, (who are now invariably identified as the Ílak Kháns ³⁾) of Máwará'u'n-Nahr or the Áli-i-Afrásiyáb ⁴⁾. This history was dedicated to the ruler of Samarqand, Qilij Ṭamgháj Khán, Ibráhím ibnu'l-Ḥusayn (reigned ¹⁵ between 1178-1200 A.D.), whose patronage our author once enjoyed while he was in Samarqand ⁵⁾.

Its importance acknowledged by Prof. Barthold.

Of this work, the first and the last of its kind, only these two anecdotes are preserved, but al-'Awfí had evidently seen and used it. Concerning the history of the Ílak Kháns there is very little known, except what Prof. W. Barthold has gathered ²⁵ from various sources, and recorded in his *Turkistán* ⁶⁾.

(11). *The Ta'rikh-i-Khurásán* ⁷⁾.

External evidence for ascribing this work to as-Sallámí.

This work is also among those that can only be identified through external evidence, as the title is generic, and the name of the author is not specified. There

¹⁾ See the Introduction of Amedoz to the *Kitábul-Wuzará'* of Hilál for a sketch of his life and works.

²⁾ Cf. *H. Khál.* Vol. II, pp. 122, 127, Nos. 2187; (2209, for Turkish Trans.); *Chahár Maqála*, Persian Text, notes pp. 184-9; *Lubbáb*, Pt. I, pp. 179-81 and 337.

³⁾ See Prof. Barthold's article in *Ency. Islam.* Vol. II, pp. 465-6.

⁴⁾ See Sir Henry Howorth's article in *JRAS.* (1898) Vol. XXX, pp. 467-502.

⁵⁾ See above p. 5, ll. 28-33; pp. 7-8.

⁶⁾ This excellent work "*Turkistán at the time of the Mongolian Invasion*", of which a translation from Russian into English is in preparation, fulfils in an ample measure the hopes expressed by Mírzá Muḥammad Khán in his survey of the sources for a reconstruction of the history of Turkistán in his notes to the *Chahár Maqála* (pp. 184-9). See for the chronological data of these Kháns Vol. II, pp. 509-12, and for the extracts from the *Jawámi'*, Vol. I, pp. 83-101, and for other anecdotes including those cited by Prof. Barthold, *Reclassification of the Contents of the Jawámi'*. [a. v. Ílak Kháns].

⁷⁾ See, for the histories bearing the same title, *H. Khál.* Vol. II, p. 127. No. 2210.

are many anecdotes scattered through the whole collection about the eminent persons of Khurásán, but the work bearing this title is cited only twice. From the nature of these anecdotes it must, as Prof. W. Barthold¹⁾ asserts, be the *Ta'rikh-i-K'hurásán*, or the *Kitáb-i-Akhhár-i-Wuldt-i-Khurdásán* of Abu'l-Husayn²⁾ 'Alí b. Aḥmad al-Bayhaqí an-Níshápurí, famous as as-Sallámí³⁾ (d. 300 A.H.). Unfortunately, this book is known only through the extracts preserved in various important works, like the *Ansáb*⁴⁾ of as-Sam'ání, the *Wafayátu'l-A'yán*⁵⁾ of Ibn Khallikán and the *Zaynu'l-Akhhár*⁶⁾ of Gardízi, from which we can obtain an idea of its contents, and lastly in the *Jawámi'* as follows:

The two anecdotes directly taken from the *Ta'rikh-i-K'hurásán*.

The first anecdote is the account of Abú Shujá' Aḥmad b. Abdu'llah al-Khujistání's⁷⁾ abduction of the wife of his general Shérzád, the raid of 'Ayyásh, (or Abbásu'l-Qaṭṭán⁸⁾) on Níshápur, the rape of al-Khujistání's mother, the curse of Abú 'Uthmán al-Hírf against the unbearable tyranny of al-Khujistání and his murder at the hand of his pages. (J.⁹⁾ f 307a. III. xvii. 1707). The second anecdote in which the *Ta'rikh-i-Khurdásán*¹⁰⁾ is particularly mentioned as the source is that of the foolish revenge of Aḥmad b. Ibráhím, an adherent of Ráfi' b. Harthama against his master's murderer Abú Sa'íd Dhar'ání or Darghání, the governor of Khwárazm, by poisoning the water-tanks of the city of Khwárazm and thereby inflicting death on innocent people (D. f 233a. III. xi. 1652).

Reasons for ascribing this work to as-Sallámí

The reasons for deciding that these two anecdotes were drawn by al-'Awfí from the work of as-Sallámí are four-fold. Firstly, they corroborate materially some of the facts mentioned in connection with the murders of al-Khujistání in 262 A.H. and Ráfi' b. Harthama in 283 A.H., by Ibnu'l-Athír¹¹⁾ and Ibn Khallikán¹²⁾, of whom the latter cites directly from as-Sallámí. Secondly, there are three other anecdotes about the Ṭáhirids and Ṣaffárids with acknowledgement of their sources as *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭáhiriyán* and *Akhhár-i-Ya'qúb-i-Layth*, by which titles al-'Awfí is alluding to the parts of as-Sallámí's work dealing with these dynasties, as is confirmed by Ibn Khallikán's¹³⁾ testimony. Thirdly, there are other anecdotes about the rulers of Khurásán, especially the Ṭáhirids, Ṣaffárids and Sámánids, in which no source is indicated, but in certain cases we can produce actual parallels from Ibn Khallikán, who cites with 30

¹⁾ See his article "Zur Geschichte der Saffariden" in the *Noldeke-Festschrift*, Band I, pp. 174-6.

²⁾ Ibn Funduq calls him Abú 'Alí al-Ḥasan.

³⁾ See, for his biography Ibn Funduq's *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaq* [Or. 3587 Br. Mus.] f 89a; *Chahár Maqála*, Persian text, notes p. 125; also *Yattmatu'd-Dahr*. IV, p. 29.

⁴⁾ Facs., p. 601b.

⁵⁾ (Wust.) Biog. Nos. 308, 350, 540, 553, 764, 838.

⁶⁾ Excerpts without acknowledgement found in *Turkistan*, (Vol. I, pp. 1-18) from [Onseley 240, Bodl.].

⁷⁾ See for a detailed account of his life, *Kámil*, Vol. VII, pp. 204-211.

⁸⁾ According to Ibnu'l-Athír, *ibid* p. 209.

⁹⁾ Source mentioned only in this Ms., which appears to be genuine.

¹⁰⁾ In G. f 257a. *Ta'rikh-i-Khwarazmiyán* occurs instead; all other Mss. read as above. It is quite likely that the portion dealing with the rulers of Khwárazm is meant, which also agrees with the context and corroborates the reasoning given further on.

¹¹⁾ Cf. *Kámil*, Vol. VII, pp. 256, 318-9, for parallel excerpts of the anecdotes referred to above.

¹²⁾ Cf. *Ibn Khal.* (Wust.) Biog. No. 838, pp. 69-70 for parallel excerpts.

¹³⁾ *Ibid.*, (Wust.) Biog. No. 838, p. 68.

acknowledgement from as-Sallāmī. Fourthly, Prof. W. Barthold who has made a critical use of some of these anecdotes from the *Ḥawāṣi* in his *Turkistán*, and in his excellent monograph "Zur Geschichte der Saffariden" which is a continuation of Nöldeke's article in the "*Orientalische Skizzen*"¹⁾, confirms this view with similar documentary evidence, as will be noticed shortly.

5

Anecdotes of
the Ṭāhirids.

Besides the two concurrent episodes, there is another anecdote which also appears to be taken from as-Sallāmī. It is the account of the dissipation of Muḥammad²⁾ b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhir-i-Dhu'l-Yaminayn, the fruitless attempts of Ibrāhīm b. 'Azīz to avert the disaster, his alliance with Ya'qūb b. al-Layth, and the end of the Ṭāhirid rule in Khurāsān (D. f 152a. II. xv. 1428). This anecdote is taken from the *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭāhiriyān*, but in the same and in the next and other chapters there are 34 other anecdotes³⁾ concerning the Ṭāhirids. The sources of these anecdotes are not acknowledged, but some of them are probably drawn from the same part of as-Sallāmī dealing with the Ṭāhirids. e. g. (D. f 148a. II. xv. 1417), (D. ff 154a-155a. 1435-7).

10

Anecdotes of
the Ṣaffārids.

Similarly another anecdote of the Ṣaffārids occurs with acknowledgement of the *Akhbār-i-Ya'qūb-i-Layth* as source, which does not necessarily indicate an independent work; al-'Awfī is probably referring to that part of as-Sallāmī's history dealing with the Ṣaffārids, as Ibn Khallikān⁴⁾ says that as-Sallāmī devoted the first section of his history to the account of 'Amr⁵⁾ b. al-Layth. Another piece of evidence which supports this view is that another anecdote of al-Khujistānī referred to above, where *Ta'rikh-i-Khurāsān* is mentioned as the source, occurs here with the *Akhbār-i-Āl-i-Layth* as the source. The following four anecdotes are likely to have been drawn from as-Sallāmī's portion of the history dealing with the Ṣaffārids. Why Rāfi⁶⁾ b. Harthama was nicknamed the Ṣāhibu'l-Jarāhāt, (D. f 233a. III. xi. 1654). The earlier portion of this anecdote about the ugliness of Rāfi⁶⁾ corresponds materially with the account cited by Ibn Khallikān⁶⁾ from as-Sallāmī. The rise of Abū Shujā' Aḥmad al-Khujistānī, his treachery towards his master Ibrāhīm Sarkab or Sharkab or Sarkat, and his alliance with Ya'qūb b. al-Layth, (D. f 233b. III. xi. 1655). The account of his rise corresponds actually with Ibnu'l-Athīr's⁷⁾ version. The same al-Khujistānī's cruel murder of Muẓaffar the son of Muḥtāj (D. f 242a. III. xiii. 1686). 'Amr b. al-Layth's story⁸⁾ of the gardener Ishāq and the butcher as related by himself in connection with the cruel murder of Ishāq, to his favourite Ja'far b. Muḥammad az-Zuburī⁹⁾ (?) (D. f 242b. III. xiii. 1687). In the last two cases we do not possess any parallels, but both anecdotes appear to be genuine.

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Prof. Barthold's opinion as to the direct indebtedness of al-'Awfī to as-Sallāmī.

Including all those mentioned above there are 37 anecdotes of the Ṣaffārids¹⁰⁾ in the *Ḥawāṣi*; 25 of them occur in the first part, and 15 are found in chapter xiii,

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¹⁾ Translated by J. S. Black; see the article on "Yakūb the Coppersmith, and his dynasty" in *Sketches from Eastern History*, pp. 176-206.

²⁾ Cf. the account of his arrest in 259 A.H. *Kāmil*, Vol. VII, pp. 180-1.

³⁾ See *Reclassification of the Contents*, [s. v. Ṭāhirids].

⁴⁾ (Wust.) Biog. No. 838, p. 67.

⁵⁾ See Prof. W. Barthold's article in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 335-6.

⁶⁾ (Wust.) Biog. No. 838, p. 69.

⁷⁾ *Kāmil*, Vol. VII, p. 205.

⁸⁾ This anecdote affords plenty of data for 'Amr's character and achievements.

⁹⁾ D. الزورى.

¹⁰⁾ See *Reclassification of the Contents*. [s. v. Ṣaffārids.]

dealing with "The Wiles and Stratagems in Statecraft". The opinion of Prof. W. Barthold referred to previously is quoted here: "Unmittelbar aus Sallāmi's Werk werden wohl abgesehen von einigen anekdotenhaften Ausschmückungen, die von Muḥammed Aufī in seinem Ġāmi'-al-hikāyāt mitgeteilten Erzählungen entlehnt sein. In Aufī's Erzählungen scheint die östliche Tradition in ihrer späteren, wahrscheinlich auf Sallāmi zurückzu-
 führenden Gestalt am ausführlichsten wiedergegeben zu sein; manche bei Gardīzi nur
 angedeutete Episode wird bei 'Aufī ausführlich erzählt; wir werden sehen, dass diese
 Ausführungen nicht von 'Aufī erfunden sein können und auf Gardīzi's Vorlage zurück-
 gehen müssen."

Nature of
 Utilisation.

Prof. Barthold thinks that the anecdotes of the Ṣaffārīds in the *Ḥawāṣimī*, apart
 from some embellishments, go back directly to as-Sallāmi, and the case is the same
 with other sources whose texts we possess. al-'Awfī's main interest was in anecdotal
 illustration of his chapter-headings, and naturally what might interest him would find
 its place in the collection from this or a similar source. That is why in this instance
 we find partial correspondence of anecdotes with Gardīzi, Ibnu'l-Aṭhīr and Ibn Khallikān's
 accounts, as an anecdote which might interest al-'Awfī might lie beyond the scope of
 a systematic history; Ibn Khallikān himself, speaking of his own utilisation of as-
 Sallāmi's work, acknowledges that he had to omit many things for the sake of brevity.
 Since we do not possess the actual text of as-Sallāmi we cannot exactly estimate the
 debt of al-'Awfī to him, but it is certain that al-'Awfī has presented the traditions
 about these dynasties faithfully and has preserved for us, though without any coherent
 design or systematic classification, most of the prominent matters concerning the rulers
 of Khurāsān not found in such detail in any of the above works.

(12). The *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā'-i-bani'l-'Abbās*¹⁾.

This source
 mentioned un-
 der three titles.

This important history of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs is cited by al-'Awfī without the
 name of the author, under three slightly different titles, as the *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-*
'Abbāsīyān, the *Ta'rikh-i-Āl-i-'Abbās* and as mentioned above, in
 range from the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr to that of at-Muttaqī. A short summary
 of them is given below in chronological order, and approximate dates are supplied in
 order to establish the authorship of this work, and ascertain the exact nature of its
 contents.

Borrowed
 anecdotes.

- (1). The assassination of Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī, the benefactor of the 'Abbāsīds, by
 the order of the Caliph al-Manṣūr in 137 A.H. = 754-5 A.D. (A. f 179b. I. xiii. 697).
- (2). The appearance of the Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq before the Caliph al-Manṣūr during
 the persecution of the 'Alīds in 144-5 A.H. = 761-2 A.D. (D. f 169a. II. xx. 1475).
- (3). The foundation of the city of Baghdād by the Caliph al-Manṣūr in 145 A.H. =
 762 A.D. (D. f 73b. IV. xviii. 1986).
- (4). The rivalry of the Barmecides with 'Abdu'llah b. Mālik al-Khuzā'i and their downfall
 at the hands of the Caliph Hārūn in 187 A.H. = 803 A.D. (D. f 199a. III. ii. 1559).

¹⁾ See *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 127-8. No. 2213, for other histories bearing similar titles.

- (5). The arrest of Bakr b. Mu'tamir, and the coincident death of the Caliph Hārūn in 193 A. H. = 809 A. D. (C. f 386a. IV. xii. 1914) = *T. F. S.* pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 48-9.
- (6). An account of the two public prosecutors of the time of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (D. f 240a. III. xiii. 1682). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 122-5.
- (7). Fadhl b. Sahl's efforts to win over the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, in favour of 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Ridhā's succession to the Caliphate in 201 A. H. = 816-7 A. D. (D. f 163a. II. xviii. 1464).
- (8). The death of a favourite slave-girl of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn at the shocking news of her master's death in 218 A. H. = 838 A. D. (D. f 36b. IV. x. 1895).
- (9). Mānī-i-Muwaswas's prediction about the attack of Ya'qūb b. al-Layth on Baghdād in 263 A. H. = 876 A. D. (A. f 239a. I. xxii. 1103)
- (10). The hostility of Abū 'Abdī'llah al-Barīdī, the Wazīr, and Muḥammad Ibnu'r-Rā'iḳ the general of al-Muttaḳī and the latter's assassination in 330 A. H. = 941-2 A. D. (D. f 173a. II. xxi. 1486).

Other citations
from aṣ-Ṣūlī.

Partly from the nature of the anecdotes mentioned above, and partly from incidental correspondence of some other accounts of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs in the *Jawāmiʿ* with references to and stray quotations from aṣ-Ṣūlī's works like the *Kitābu'l-Lawāḍiq*¹⁾, the *Kitābu'l-Wuzarā'*²⁾ and the *Adabu'l-Kuttāb*³⁾, found in various biographical and historical works, *viz.*, the *Kitābu'l-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*⁴⁾ and the *Nishwatu'l-Muḥaddhara*⁵⁾ of Abū 'Alī Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī⁶⁾, (d. 384 A. H. = 994 A. D.); the fragments of the *Kitābu'l-Wuzarā'*⁷⁾ and of the Chronicle⁸⁾ of Hilāl⁹⁾ b. Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣābī (d. 448 A. H. = 1056 A. D.); the latter part of the *Tajdribu'l-Umam*¹⁰⁾ of Miskawayh¹¹⁾ (d. 421 A. H. = 1030 A. D.) and the parallel references supplied to this work in the footnotes, directly from the *Kitābu'l-Awraq* of aṣ-Ṣūlī; the *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*¹²⁾ and the *Irshādu'l-Arib* of Yāqūtu'l-Ḥamawī, the *Kitābu'l-Fakhri*¹³⁾ of Ibnu't-Tiḡṭaqa (composed in 701 A. H. = 1302 A. D.), and other works¹⁴⁾, it can be

¹⁾ A fragment of it about Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz is published by Mr. Ign. Kratchkovski of Petrograd, in Russian, in *Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія* (= ZVO). Vol. XXI, Pt. ii-iii. pp. 95-115.

²⁾ Hilāl b. Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣābī expresses an unfavourable opinion about this work in his own *Kitābu'l-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (p. 2).

³⁾ Edited by Muḥammad Bahjat al-Aḥarī of Baghdād (Cairo 1341 A. H.) with an introduction, which was kindly lent to the present writer by Mr. F. Krenkow.

⁴⁾ Many anecdotes with and without acknowledgement are borrowed from aṣ-Ṣūlī, [see Notice No. 31].

⁵⁾ In the first part, edited and translated by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth (p. 145 Arabic text), aṣ-Ṣūlī tells a story about the Caliph ar-Rādhī.

⁶⁾ *Y. I. A.*, Vol. VI, pp. 251-68, for his biography.

⁷⁾ On pp. 219, 354, aṣ-Ṣūlī is twice quoted.

⁸⁾ Part of it is published along with his *Kitābu'l-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz.

⁹⁾ *Ency. Islam*, Mr. F. Krenkow's article, "al-Ṣābī" Vol. IV, pp. 20-1, for a sketch of his life.

¹⁰⁾ *Eclipse*, Vol. I, footnotes to pp. 268, 269, 291-3, 306, 307, 309, 310, 313, 316, 317, 319, 325, 331, 334, 337, 338, 348, 351, 352, 358, 360, 366, 373, 390-2, 406-8, 419-20. These quotations from the *Kitābu'l-Awraq* give an accurate idea of the end of the historical section.

¹¹⁾ See for a sketch of his life *Eclipse*, (Index), Vol. VII, Preface by Prof. Margoliouth pp. ii-viii. In his and Amedroz's opinion the debt of Miskawayh to aṣ-Ṣūlī is considerable.

¹²⁾ *Y. M. B.*, Vol. I, p. 572; II, 706; III, 7, 213; IV, 133, 248, 306, 725, 732, 819, aṣ-Ṣūlī quoted concerning topics on poets. *Y. I. A.*, Vol. I, p. 114; V, p. 278.

¹³⁾ Ed. Derenbourg, pp. 210, 250, 351, 363, 364, aṣ-Ṣūlī quoted concerning history of the 'Abbāsids.

¹⁴⁾ Of Mas'ūdī, Ibn Zāfir, Khaṭīb-i-Baghdādī, Ibnu'l-Jawzī, adh-Dhahabī and 'Arib.

inferred that al-ʿAwfī is alluding to the famous but partly preserved *Kitābu'l-Awraq fi Akhbārī'l-Khulafā' wa'sh-Shuʿarā'*, also known as the *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā'-i-banī'l-Abbās* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. ʿAbdu'llah b. al-Abbās aṣ-Ṣūlī ash-Shatranjī¹⁾, the boon companion of the Caliphs al-Muktaḍī (289-95 A.H. = 902-8 A.D.), al-Muqtadir (295-320 A.H. = 908-32 A.D.), and also the tutor of al-Raḍī, (322-9 A.H. = 934-40 A.D.).

Ibnu'n-Nadīm's account of aṣ-Ṣūlī.

According to Ibnu'n-Nadīm, the first part of this work contained the history of the Caliphs to the end, (down to his own times), and the other part about their poetry was left unfinished. Probably this might be due to his flight from Baghdad which happened about 300 A.H., in connection with his having related a tradition about the Caliph ʿAlī, which excited the wrath of the people. Ibn Khallikān says that he died in Baṣra in 335 or 336 A.H. = 946-7 A.D.

Partial agreement of facts with the citations from the *Kitābu'l-Awraq*.

As regard the citations from this work in the *Ḥawāmī*²⁾, the last anecdote (No. 10) about the hostility of al-Barīdī and Ibnu'r-Rā'iq brings the history to the times of al-Muttaqī (329-333 A.H. = 940-4 A.D.). Miskawayh³⁾ under the events of the year 330 A.H. relates the account of the murder of Ibnu'r-Rā'iq, which corresponds in general with that given in this anecdote, but a little earlier than this event a direct quotation⁴⁾ is found from aṣ-Ṣūlī's *Kitābu'l-Awraq* relating to the flight of Ibnu'r-Rā'iq in 325 A.H., which also partially agrees with the anecdote mentioned above. Another anecdote, (D. f 19a. IV. vi. 1840), though without acknowledgement of the source, about the arrest of Abū ʿAlī ibn Muqla is related in the footnotes to the *Eclipse*⁵⁾ which also bears some resemblance.

Probable indirect indebtedness of al-ʿAwfī to aṣ-Ṣūlī.

Since we do not possess the actual text of the *Kitābu'l-Awraq* of aṣ-Ṣūlī we cannot establish the direct indebtedness of al-ʿAwfī to him; but one striking instance of indirect borrowing is noticeable, which leads us to think that al-ʿAwfī drew from the works originally based on the monumental work of aṣ-Ṣūlī; (e.g. No. 5) the arrest of Bakr b. Muʿtamir and the coincident death of the Caliph Hārūn, in which the *Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā'-i-banī'l-Abbās* is mentioned as the source, is also found in the *Faraj ba'd a'sh-Shidda* of at-Tanūkhī, but for this anecdote we have no access to a parallel text of aṣ-Ṣūlī amongst the fragments enumerated below⁶⁾.

¹⁾ *Fihrist*, pp. 150-1; *Ansāb*, (facs.) p. 357: a fuller account of his life in *Ibn Khāl.* (Wust.) Biog. No. 659; Wustenfeld, *Geschichtschreiber = Wust. Gesch.* No. 115, followed by Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* Vol. I, p. 143; *Eclipse*, Vol. I, p. 9; *B. T. M.*, p. 755.

²⁾ *Eclipse*, Vol. II, pp. 27-8.

³⁾ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 373.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 390-1.

⁵⁾ The present writer's information about the extant fragments of the *Kitābu'l-Awraq* of aṣ-Ṣūlī is based on secondary sources, and mostly on Mr. Ign. Kratchkovski's article "On the description of the Mss. of Ibn Tayfūr and aṣ-Ṣūlī" in Russian ZVO., XXI, pp. 95-115, (see above, p. 48, n. 1), which was kindly translated for him by Mr. L. C. Wharton of the British Museum. These known fragments are arranged in the order in which the work is supposed to have been written by aṣ-Ṣūlī, from the data given in the *Fihrist* (pp. 150-1). The historical section dealing with the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs comes first, then the historico-literary section dealing with the history and poetry of the ʿAlī-ʿAbbās and other poets besides them. (Mss. used by Ign. Kratch. are marked with an asterisk, and the order of the Mss. is tentative.)

*i. Petrograd, Public Library Ms. [No. 60], Khannikov collection, contains the account of the end of the Caliphate of al-Wāthiq from 227 A.H. = 841 A.D. to the murder of al-Muhtadī in 256 A.H. = 869 A.D. (see Dorn, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, Vol. V, p. 244. St. Petersburg 1868 and Ign. Kratch.)

*ii. Cairo, Azhar Mosque Ms. [*Ta'rikh*, No. 443 and 6737] contains the chronological accounts from the year 295-318 A.H. = 907-930; thus covering almost the period of the Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (d. 320 A.H. =

Result of Mr.
Kratchkovski's investi-
gation.

The present writer cannot do better than reproduce the remarks of Mr. Ign. Kratchkovski concerning the extant portions of the *Kitābu'l-Awraq* of aṣ-Ṣūlī with a view to a further intensive study of the work as wished by him. "The whole material to hand, represented by five fragments from the work of aṣ-Ṣūlī does not yet allow us to judge of the whole extent of the *Kitābu'l-Awraq*, although it gives more exact data than we had before¹⁾. The Ms. of al-Azhar [*Ta'rikh* No. 443 and 6737], found by us, represents in its fullness one of the parts, a third or a fourth, while the previously known Mss. only give fragments. Thus the whole work, unfinished by the author, as is known from the *Fihrist* (p. 150) and from a note in the last part²⁾ of the Khedivial Library Ms. [*Adab* No. 487 and 7083] f 180b, contained probably 5-6 tomes, of similarly solid extent to that of the Azhar Ms. [*Ta'rikh* No. 443 and 6737]. This work was written, as it appears, during a long period by the author and simultaneously with other works: in the last part he speaks of the *Kitābu'l-I'uzard'* as a book already in existence³⁾, while in one of the preceding ones he merely expresses the intention of writing it⁴⁾. The general plan of the work agrees with what the author of the *Fihrist* wrote about it; after the history in the narrower sense in chronological order of the material, as is seen in the three accessible Mss., followed a historico-literary part, consecrated to the crowned and uncrowned poets, an anthology of their works, and biographical notes on them in systematic order. This second part also led

932 A.D.). Unless this Ms. is compared with the next one, it cannot be ascertained with certainty whether it is really the 3rd or the 4th *juz* of the historical section of the *Awraq*. (see Ign. Kratch.)

iii. Constantinople Ms. Contains only the 3rd *juz*. O. Rescher who first discovered it does not give a descriptive account of this Ms. (see Mitteilungen aus Stambuler Bibliotheken, in the *Mélanges de la faculté orientale*, Tom. V^e. Beyrouth, 1912, p. 523, No. 2141).

iv. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. [Fonds Arabe 4836] contains the biography of the Caliph al-Rāḍī (322-329 A.H. = 934-940 A.D.). From the quotations in the *Eclipse*, supplied probably from this Ms. by H. F. Amedroz (see above p. 48, n. 10) it is obvious that this fragment represents the end of the historical section, which brings the account to his own times. (see G. Salmon, *Intro. Topog. Baghddh*, p. 80, n. 3).

*v. Petrograd, Rosen Ms. contains two independent treatises, one about the history and poetry of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and his sister 'Aliyya, and the other a fairly complete monograph on the history and poetry of 'Abdu'llah ibnu'l-Mu'tazz. This fragment probably forms a part of the historico-literary section dealing with the direct descendants of the Caliphs as the author of the *Fihrist* describes it (p. 150), (see Ign. Kratch.)

*vi. Cairo, Khedivial Library Ms. [*Ta'rikh* No. 594] contains accounts of poets presumably arranged in alphabetical order. Probably this fragment represents the last portion of the unfinished section of the *Awraq*, concerning poets. (see Prof. J. Horovitz's list "*Aus den Bibliotheken von Kairo, Damaskus und Konstantinopel*", MSOS. X, ii, Berlin 1907. pp. 35-8; W. Barthold ZVO. XVIII, pp. 0148-0153, 1908; Zaydān II, 175; Khedivial Cat. Vol. V, p. 16.

*vii. Cairo, Azhar Mosque Ms. [*Adab*, No. 487 and 7083], a modern transcript identical with the above No. vi. (see Ign. Kratch.)

viii. Haydarābād Dakan, State Library Ms. [*Ta'rikh*, 'Arabi, No. 311] dated 1310 A.H. of hitherto unknown description, (see the *Fihrist-i-Kutub-Khāna-i-Aḡafīyya*, (litho, 1332 A.H.) Vol. I, p. 180.

1) "The writer deduces his results from a comparison of the Khedivial and Petrograd Mss."

2) See J. Horovitz's article *op. cit.* p. 37.

3) *Ibid.* وقد استقصيت احاره في كتاب الوزراء الذي ألفته، (f 144b).

4) See Ign. Kratch. قال ابوبكر وهذا شعر طويل حسن لا يذكر في هذا الكتاب منه اكر مما ذكر وبكل في كتاب.

الوزراء انشاء الله

astray H. Khalfa¹⁾ [and aṣ-Ṣafadī²⁾], who ascribed to aṣ-Ṣulī a special work, the *Akhbār-i-Shu'arā'*. For the identity of these works speaks the alphabetical order, to which H. Khalfa refers as well as aṣ-Ṣulī³⁾, and in particular that the work first appeared in H. Khalfa; neither the author of the *Fihrist* who gives a fairly complete list of the works, [especially a full description of the contents of the *Awrāq*, based 5 on personal observation⁴⁾], nor Ibn Khallikān mentions it. However that may be, aṣ-Ṣulī did not succeed in finishing the compilation of this second part before his death, only giving monographs on poets of ruling dynasties and some others not belonging to them. At the present time, therefore, we possess five fragments⁵⁾ of his *Kitābu'l-Awrāq*; three from the historical part: 1. Cairo (*ii*) = (?) Constantinople (*iii*), 10 2. Paris (*iv*), 3. Petrograd (*i*); and two from the historico-literary: 4. Cairo (*v*), 5. Petrograd (*vi*). Sooner or later this work will attract the intensive study of Arabists; if the author succeeds in any degree in awakening the coming generation of scholars to this, he will consider the aim of the present note attained."

(13). The *Ta'rikhu't-Tabari*⁶⁾.

Indications
of the material
for these chap-
ters.

The Annals⁷⁾ of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad⁸⁾ b. Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabarī (b. 224 d. 310 A. H. = 15 838-923 A. D.), fully entitled the *Ta'rikhu'r-Rusul-i-wa'l-Mulūk*, is mentioned with its short title as *Ta'rikh-i-Tabari* twenty times in the *Ḥawāṣi*. Almost all these citations occur in Pt. I, ch. iv, "On the Ancient Kings of Persia" and ch. v, "On the Accounts of the Caliphs." In the introduction⁹⁾ to ch. iv, al-'Awfi has given us

¹⁾ Vol. I, p. 187, No. 203; also *Wust. Gesch.* 37, No. 115, 3. Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 143, No. 5.

²⁾ *Journal Asiatique*. Series 10. Tom. XIX, (1912) p. 286, No. 226: أخبار الشعراء مرتب على المعجم للتوقي.

³⁾ See J. Horowitz's p. 37. وهو كتاب المخلّاء و هو كتاب الأوراق (f 95b) إلى ذكر الشعراء الذين أوّل أسماءهم الف

⁴⁾ See *Fihrist* pp. 150-1. بأسرها. والذي خرج منه أخبار المخلّاء بالشعر. و أشعار أولاد المخلّاء و أنامهم من السّاق إلى أنام ابن المعتز أشعار من بقي من بني العباس من ليس بمخلّفة ولا ابن خليفة لمُطَه و أول ذلك شعر عبد الله بن عليّ و آخره شعراي أحمد محمد بن أحمد بن أسبعل بن إبراهيم بن عيسى بن المنصور و بطلو ذلك أشعار الطالبيين ولد الحسن و الحسين و ولد العباس بن عليّ و ولد عمر بن عليّ و ولد جعفر بن أبي طالب ثم بقي ذلك أشعار ولد الحارث بن عبد المطلب و بعد أخبار ابن هرمة و مختار شعره أخبار السيد الحميري و مختار شعره أخبار أحمد بن يوسف و مختار شعره أخبار سُدف و مختار شعره و هذا الكتاب عوّل عند تأليفه على كتاب المربدي (n) في الشعر و الشعراء بل نقله قلا و اتعله و قد رابت دستور الرجل في خزانة الصولي

ناقض به (a) Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 129; also *Y. I. A.* Vol. II, p. 57-8, Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Maribadi.

⁵⁾ The order of the fragments adopted by the present writer, (as shown above on p. 49, n. 5), is indicated after the names of the places.

⁶⁾ *H. Khal.* Vol. II, p. 136, No. 2250.

⁷⁾ Edited by M. J. de Goeje and others, Leyden (see de Goeje's preface and Introduction and his article in *Ency. Brit.* XI edition, Vol. II, Arabia: Historical Literature pp. 273-6); and for the portions in question see Prof. Th. Nöldeke's 'Einleitung' to *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt*, Leyden 1897. (= *Tabari-Übersetzung*).

⁸⁾ *Y. I. A.* Vol. VI, pp. 423-63, a biographical sketch of aṭ-Ṭabarī based on contemporary sources.

⁹⁾ (A. f 46b-f 47a = E. f 12b. I. iv. Int. 119) طهای تاریخ در ذکر ملوک جهان و خردان گیاه تاریخ ماضی اند (A. f 46b-f 47a = E. f 12b. I. iv. Int. 119) و مصنفات پرداخته و در اکثر آن دُرْد با صاف مزوج است و دروغ با راست محلط و اگرچه ذکر جمله ملوک که بعد از عهد

sufficient clues about his material for this and the next chapter, and in two other places¹⁾ he has indicated the nature of the utilisation of this and other works, such as the *Ghurar* and the *Ta'rikh-i-Maqdisi* discussed later on.

Observations
on other com-
bined sources.

From the three quotations given in the footnotes, it is to be remarked that, firstly, al-'Awfi had at his disposal other works besides the Annals of at-Ṭabarī, and 5 that he utilised them according to his own discretion with a sparing mention of the sources; secondly, the Persian Translations of the Annals and the *Ghurar* were known to him. Although in the first instance there is no direct mention of the translation of 'Abū 'Alī al-Bal'ami, yet, probably, the emphasis on the word خوش along with the title of at-Ṭabarī's work in this and several other citations, and two other vague 10 allusions to a *Ta'rikh-i-Tāzi*, indicate the utilisation of the Arabic original rather than the Persian version of al-Bal'ami. The latter fact is also confirmed by a textual comparison of similar anecdotes both in al-Bal'ami's version and the *Jawāmi'* with the original, and by the separate method of division of the longer accounts in the Chapter on Persian Kings; thus we do not find any indebtedness of al-'Awfi to 15 Bal'ami's version. In the case of the *Ra'y-Ārāy*²⁾, the Persian Translation of the *Ghurar*³⁾, we do not possess the Persian text, hence our inability to estimate the exact nature of the debt of al-'Awfi to this version. Regarding the *Ta'rikh-i-Maqdisi*⁴⁾, although this quotation about the terrible fate of the two sons of Ja'far and 'Abbāsa is not traceable, yet there are besides these other citations in which al-'Awfi has shown 20 something in the nature of a combined utilisation.

Purpose of
the anecdotes.

The following is a summary of the quotations in which the *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭabarī* is mentioned.

- (1) *Dhahhāk's* tyranny relaxed at the protest of the people of Babylon. (A. f 48b. I. iv. 127) = *Tab.* I, 204-5.
- (2) Recognition of Ashk, the son of Dārā the great, by the Tribal Kings. (A. f 67a. I. iv. 155) = *Tab.* I, 704-5, cf. *Gh.*³⁾ pp. 456, 473.
- (3) Ardashīr's final victory over Arduwān. (A. f 68a. I. iv. 157) = *Tab.* I, 819, cf. *Gh.* pp. 479-80.

آدم صقی علیه السلام بوده اند امکان ندارد فاما از نشان لثه مشهورید و محمد جریر طبری در تاریخ خوش ذکر ایشان کرده است و
تعالی سر غرر و سیر نام ایشان برده و ذکر ایشان بر سبیل ایجاز و اختصار گفته آمد

و در کتاب رای آرای که (A. f 76a = B. f 45b = C. f 116b = E. f 57b-f 58a = G. f 48b. I. iv. 183) ترجمه غرر و سیر است همین نقل کرده شده است و در تاریخ طبری م بدین معنی اشارت کرده اما مؤلف کتاب می گوید که در تاریخی (a) دیگر مطالعه افتاد، است که مزدک را ابوشیرین در ابام حات قباد کشت و دران خیلی سخت لطیف تقدم نمود و ان حکایت (b) در
هین کتاب یاد کرده خواهد شد

چون رشید حج بگارد پسران عباسه را پیش خواند و آن دو دامه در (A. f 107a = C. f 149a = E. f 109a. I. v. 302) خوشاب را که در لطافت و طراوت آب گوهر کانی برده بودند بدید و اگرچه دلش بر ایشان می سوخت فاما سیاست سلطنت غالب آمد و در تاریخ طبری آورده است که ایشان را بکشت و مقدم آورده است که هر دو را در چاه انداخت

(a-b) See Notice Nos. (1) a, (26) regarding (D. f 220b. III. viii. 1623), cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 166-81.

²⁾ See Notices Nos (22), (30), (15), for further details.

³⁾ *Tab.*, *Gh.* are the abbreviations used in this notice for the *Ta'rikh-i-Rusul* ed. by De Goeje and for the *Ghurar* of at-Ṭabarī ed. by Zotenberg respectively.

- (4) The account of the birth of Shápúr. (A. f 69a. I. iv. 158) = *Tab.* I, 823-5; cf. *Gh.* pp. 473-82.
- (5) Hurmuz cuts off his hand to remove his father's suspicion. (A. f 69b. I. iv. 160) = *Tab.* I, 833.
- (6) Short period of Bahrám III's reign. (A. f 70b. I. iv. 164) = *Tab.* I, 835; cf. *Gh.* pp. 507-8.
- (7) Shápúr disgraces the Qayşar of Rúm. (A. f 70b. I. iv. 167) = *Tab.* I, 845; cf. *Gh.* p. 528.
- (8) Extermination of the Mazdakites by Núshírwán in his own reign. (A. f 75b. I. iv. 183) = *Tab.* I, 893-4; cf. *Gh.* 603-5, also *B. A. B.* p. 209.
- (9) Defeat of Parwíz at the hands of Bahrám Chúbín. (A. f 76b. I. iv. 185) = *Tab.* I, 1000.
- (10) Flight of Bahrám Chúbín and Parwíz's final history. (A. f 78a. I. iv. 186) = *Tab.* I, 1000.
- (11) The cause of Ázarmídukht's murder. (A. f 81a. I. iv. 193) = *Tab.* I, 1064-5; cf. *Gh.* pp. 736-7.
- (12) The Caliph 'Umar's comparison of the death of the Prophet Muḥammad with the ascension of Jesus Christ (A. f 82b. I. v. 197) = *Tab.* I, 1815-6, where it is interpreted as parallel to the Translation of Moses. In the *Ṣawāmi* there is a misquotation as well as a complete refutation of this comparison, with an explanation of the Caliph's words and the situation at that moment.
- (13) Khálid b. Walíd's killing of Málík b. Nuwayra the Musaylimate, regarded in *Tabari* as the cause of dissension between the Caliphs Abú Bakr and 'Umar. (A. f 83a. I. v. 200) = *Tab.* I, 1924-5, 1926-9. The last version is adopted by al-'Awfí.
- (14) 'Amr b. Sa'íd b. al-'Āş al-Ashdaq and 'Abdu'llah b. Zubayr as rival claimants to the Caliphate in the time of Marwán b. Ḥakam. (A. f 97b. I. v. 252) = *Tab.* II, 576.
- (15) Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'l-Malik the Umayyad's benevolence towards the 'Alids. (A. f 99b. I. v. 261) = *Tab.* II, 1338.
- (16) The killing of the two sons of Ja'far and 'Abbása. (A. f 107a. I. v. 303) = *Tab.* III, 676-7.
- (17)¹⁾ The poisoning²⁾ of the Imám Ḥasan. (A. f 176b. I. xiii. 684).
- (18) Prediction of the historian aṭ-Ṭabarí about the unsettled affairs of the Caliphate and Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz who was much ahead of his times. (A. f 114b. I. v. 337).
- (19) The Caliph al-Ma'mún's efforts to suppress the rumours afloat in Baghdád after his advent, and the story of the Caliph and the Miller. (D. f 181a. II. xxiii. 1510).
- (20) The Caliph Hárún's consideration for the Qádhí Abú Yúsuf and the preparation of a special daily dish for him. (D. f 5b. IV. i. 1794).

Nature of the
Utilisation of
the *Ta'rikh-i-
Tabari* in the
Ṣawāmi.

From the nature of the citations from the *Ta'rikh-i-Tabari* it can be inferred that al-'Awfí makes a particular mention of this source whenever there is a material difference of tradition regarding the particular event or whenever he wants to support his own statement. In the account of the ancient kings of Persia, he has omitted the

¹⁾ No. 17 is untraceable; No. 18 reference to the historian only; in Nos. 19 and 20 the source is uncertain as the readings differ, probably referring to the *Ta'rikh-i-Tabari* as *Ta'rikh-i-Tāci*.

²⁾ Cf. Abu'l-Faraj Isfahání's *Maqātilu'l-Ṭālibiyyín*, (Tíhrán litho. 1037 A.H.) pp. 29-30. Cf. *Kitābu'l-Ma'ārif*, (= *Q. K. M.*) p. 108, and *Maqdisi*, ed. Huart, Vol. V, p. 238, which give 49, 47 A.H. as the year of his death resp.

parallel accounts given in *aṭ-Ṭabari* and the *Ghurār* about the ancient prophets and other Arabian kings, and has represented the tradition regarding the Persian kings as based on Arabic rather than on the original Persian sources, as in the case of Ibn Qutayba, Ḥamza b. Ḥasan al-Isfahānī or the anonymous author of the *Mujmal* or Firdawsī¹⁾. The account of the Persian kings is in general based on the plan of the *Ghurār*, rather than on that of *aṭ-Ṭabari*. These acknowledged citations are very short, but there are other anecdotes about the Caliphs which are entirely based on *aṭ-Ṭabari*; in these al-ʿAwfī has cut short longer accounts, dropped the chain of tradition, and omitted other interesting particulars, and in places blended the different accounts into one single narrative, and retained bare events regarding the lives of the Caliphs, which can be found in any ordinary handbook on the Caliphs. Only in the latter portion of this chapter, when the accounts approach his time, he gives valuable information regarding the rise of the various dynasties, while the Caliphate was on the decline.

(14). The *Ta'rikh-i Mashd'ikh-i Khurāsān*²⁾.

An unidentified source.

This work is mentioned only once, and its identification is extremely difficult. From the nature of the anecdote and the connection in which it is cited the work appears to be different from the *Ta'rikh-i Khurāsān* discussed previously in Notice No. (11). The anecdote which is borrowed from this source is that of a disciple of Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Khidhrawayh al-Balkhī, the famous Ṣūfī saint (d. *circa* 240 A. H. = 854 A. D.), at whose prayer a bucket of water rose from the bottom of the well automatically, (A. f 42a = B. f 21b = G. f 22a. I. iii. 97). It is quite likely that the next anecdote might have also been taken from the same source, though it is not mentioned in any Ms.: the visit of the Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Maslama al-Ḥaddād (d. *circa* 264 A. H. = 877 A. D.) to the Shaykh Abū ʿUthmān al-Ḥirī (d. *circa* 298 A. H. = 910 A. D.) and his historic reception by the latter in his own convent, and the burning of nineteen lamps, which resulted in the conversion of a family of Jews at the hand of the latter Shaykh (A. f 42a. I. iii. 98). These accounts are not found in the *Risāla* of Qushayrī; it is possible that al-ʿAwfī is alluding to the *Ta'rikh* of al-Ḥākim³⁾ an-Nishāpūrī (d. 403 A. H.) or of Abū Naṣr al-Marwazī.

(15). The *Ta'rikh-i Maqdisi*⁴⁾.

Correct identification of this source.

The source mentioned above is no other than the *Kitābu'l-Bad'i wa't-Ta'rikh* of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, composed in 355 A. H. = 965-6 A. D. This work was for a long time regarded as the composition of Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī;

¹⁾ See Notice No. (16).

²⁾ See *H. Khal.* Vol. II, p. 127, No. 2210 where other histories of Khurāsān are enumerated.

³⁾ A. E. omit the source mentioned above.

⁴⁾ *Ansdb.* (facs.) p. 574a; *Ibn Khal.* (Wust.) Biog. No. 626; *H. Khal.* Vol. II, p. 155, No. 2333.

⁵⁾ *Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire* de Muṭahhar ben Ṭāhir el-Maqdisī attribué à Abou-Zéid Aḥmed ben Sahl el-Balkhī, publié et traduit par M. Cl. Huart, Paris, Arabic Text (= *M. K. B.*). See Prefaces, Vol. II, ix; III, v-vii, where other references are given concerning the authorship; also *JRAS.* (1901) pp. 159-61.

in fact, the first two volumes of M. Clément Huart's edition appeared under the name of Abú Zayd. As early as 1883, C. Schefer¹⁾ had noticed a few extracts of this work in the *Bayánu'l-Adyén*; it was Hermann Zotenberg²⁾ who discovered a passage in the *Ghurar* of ath-Tha'libí quoted from this history (Vol. III, p. 157), about Manes, and perfectly established the right authorship.

Acknowledged
citations.

There are three acknowledged citations from the *Ta'rikh-i-Maqdisi* in the *Ja'wámi*; the first one happens to be the same on which the discovery of Zotenberg was based, the second is not traceable, and the third is entirely based on the version of al-Maqdisí, regarding the origin, rise, and rebellion of Bábak al-Khurramí. The following are the anecdotes taken from this work:

- (1) Manes as the founder of Zindiqism and his followers who in later times were called Bāṭinís (Esoterics). (A. f 70a. I. iv. 162) = *Gh.* p. 501 = *M. K. B.* Vol. III, p. 157.
- (2) The fate of the two sons of Ja'far the Barmecide and 'Abbása. (A. f 107a. I. v. 303).
- (3) The origin, rise, and rebellion of Bábak al-Khurramí. (A. f 110b. I. v. 315). *M. K. B.* Vol. IV, pp. 114-6.

Importance
of the *Ta'rikh-i-Maqdisi*.

The authority of al-Maqdisí (d. 375 A.H. = 985 A.D.) on the origin of important historical events has been recognised from the earliest times; especially the quotations No. (1) and (3), which are concerned with two important persons in the history of the heretical movements in Persia, contain independent and original matter. Although the accounts of them given by at-Ṭabarí were written nearly 50 years earlier, al-Maqdisí appears to have adopted quite a different source. Particularly Bábak's private life, which is quoted in the *Ja'wámi* from al-Maqdisí, is also found in detail in the *Fihrist* (pp. 342-4), which was written nearly 25 years later than al-Maqdisí's work, and differs essentially from at-Ṭabarí's version (III, 1171-9).

(16). The *Ta'rikh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam*.

Difficulties
regarding the
identification
of these works.

The identification of this work and four others of a similar nature viz., the *Kitáb-i-Áyin-i-Mulúk*, the *Ta'rikh-i-Akásira*, the *Siyarü'l-Mulúk* and the *Ḥaṣṣýd-i-Ardashir* which are mentioned as the sources of the anecdotes of which the purport is given below, is beset with many difficulties. Firstly, the names of the authors are not mentioned and the titles are uncertain; secondly, none of these works has come down to us in its original form, language, and version; thirdly, there are diverse statements given by earlier authorities who utilised them regarding the different versions of some of them; fourthly, the criticism of these works by Oriental scholars is mostly based on conjectural grounds; and lastly, al-'Awfi's knowledge about them seems to be secondary. In so far as they are represented by quotations in the *Ja'wámi*, an attempt is made in this notice to discuss briefly each of them and where possible to identify them.

¹⁾ *Chreslomathie Persane*, Vol. I, pp. 136-8.

²⁾ *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, par Aboü Manṣûr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Moḥammad ibn Ismá'íl al-Tha'libí, texte Arabe publié et traduit par H. Zotenberg, Paris 1900, Arabic Text (= *Ghurar*) preface pp. xxi-xxii. See for a review of it by Prof. Browne, J.R.A.S. (1901) pp. 161-4.

Purport of
the anecdotes
in which they
occur.

- The following are the accounts borrowed from these works:
- (1) The various qualities which determined the rank and social status of the officials under the various Persian kings from the time of Jamshīd to Nūshīrwān, as recorded in the *Kitāb-i-Āyin-i-Mulūk*, and recounted before an anonymous Caliph. (A. f 127b. I. vii. 402). 5
 - (2) The peaceful reign of Yazdijird b. Bahrām Gūr, as recorded in the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam*, and his four pithy sayings appreciated in the court of the Caliph al-Manṣūr. (A. f 139a. I. viii. 476).
 - (3) Bahrām Gūr's skill in the art of shooting arrows as exhibited before Nu'mān b. Mundhir, drawn from the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam*. (D. f 141a. II. xii. 1391). 10
 - (4) How Gushtāsp during his exile in Constantinople, maintained himself by earning his own livelihood, and his public order for learning handicrafts after being restored to his Persian kingdom, drawn from the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam*. (D. f 203a. III. iv. 1572).
 - (5) The story of the forbidden dish and the Kisrā's admonition to the ungrateful guest, who betrayed the secret of his host, drawn from the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam*. (D. f 261a. III. xix. 1721). 15
 - (6) Nūshīrwān punishes, after his coronation, the courtiers who took the same liberty with him as before it, taken from the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam*. (D. f 8a. IV. ii. 1804).
 - (7) An interview between a king and a sage, and the latter's reference to the *Akhbār-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam* concerning the remark of Nūshīrwān about the safety of his own person from the attack of enemies, and its being due to the protection which he offered to his own subjects. (D. f 10b. IV. iii. 1812). 20
 - (8) The reason of the preference of al-Ma'mūn over al-Amīn, as shown to Zubayda by the Caliph Hārūn through a practical test of their capabilities, in which an incidental reference to the *Siyarū'l-Mulūk* occurs, which the precocious al-Ma'mūn always used to study. (D. f 184b. II. xxiii. 1517). 25
 - (9) An account drawn from the *Siyarū'l-Mulūk* concerning the Land of Women in the desert of the Maghrib near the Moving Sands. (D. f 71a. IV. xvii. 1976).
 - (10) An observation from the *Waṣāyā-i-Ardashīr* is recited by Aḥmad by Naṣr the Sāmānid on the eve of his immediate action against the rebellious governor of Sanjāb in contrast to the negligence of his Wazīr Abu'l-Faḍl al-Bal'amī, enjoining the precautions which a king should observe, first about the safety of his throne, then his court, then his palace, then his capital, then his subjects, and then the boundaries of his kingdom. (P. f 261b. II. xvii. 1450). 30
 - (11) An observation from the *Ta'rikh-i-Akāsira* is brought forward by Nūshīrwān to bear upon his decision regarding the characteristic craftiness of a dwarf. (D. f 194a. III. i. 1543). 35
- In the anecdote preceding No. (1) occurs a passage (A. f 127b. I. vii. 401) in which 'Abdu'llah b. al-Muqaffa' speaks of his own efforts in recasting¹⁾ the philosophical books which he found in the treasury of the kings of Persia, and goes on to describe the ten virtues inherited from Kayúmarth, the mythical ancestor of the Persian kings, and acted upon by his descendants to the time of Yazdijird, which 40

Discussion on
the anecdote
taken from the
Āyin-i-Mulūk.

¹⁾ Cf. *Fihrist*, pp. 118, 305; *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 151-2.

established the superiority of the Persian kings over other rulers of their times. And the anecdote in which the *Āyin-i-Mulūk* is mentioned as the source, recounts the various qualities which determined the rank and social status of the officials. A parallel text of the latter account is also found in the *Ghurār*¹⁾ of ath-Tha'alibī (pp. 14-5), where the *Kitābu'l-Āyin* is also mentioned as the source, but the anecdote in the *Ḥawāṣṣ*²⁾ is told before a Caliph and is set in a different manner, from which we can infer that at least the *Ghurār* is not the direct source; nor does it correspond with any of the citations from the *Kitābu'l-Āyin* in the *ʿUyūnu'l-Akhbār*³⁾; hence it is likely that al-ʿAwfī may have utilised a source in which this anecdote occurs in a much later setting.

Other citations
from the *Kitābu'l-Āyin*
in the
ʿUyūnu'l-Akhbār.

Other quotations from the *Kitābu'l-Āyin* occur in the *ʿUyūnu'l-Akhbār* of Ibn Qutayba without acknowledgement of the author of the *Āyin*. Ibn Qutayba's knowledge of this work is first-hand, as he says he has read such and such in the *Kitābu'l-Āyin* and quotes from it directly. One of the quotations is interesting on account of the changes which it has undergone. This is a short and sententious saying from the speech of an anonymous king regarding his policy of administration. In the *Iqdū'l-Farīd*⁴⁾ this same quotation is ascribed to Ardāshīr, and in the *Ḥawāṣṣ* a story is built on it. It occurs as a reply of Nūshīrwān written in response to a mischievous representation of certain courtiers about others whom they suspected of evil intentions against the king (A. f 146b. I. x. 529). Unfortunately the source of this anecdote is not mentioned in the *Ḥawāṣṣ* and only a part of this saying is translated, so we do not know the intermediate stages it passed through, before it assumed the form in which it occurs in the *Ḥawāṣṣ*.

Its identification
with the
Kitābu'l-Āyin
of Ibnu'l-Muqaffaʿ.

al-Masʿūdī in his *Kitābu'l-Tanbih wa'l-Ishrāf*⁵⁾ (p. 104) is the only author who describes the *Āyin-nāma* and differentiates it (p. 106) from the *Khudāy-nāma* and another anonymous large and illustrated work⁶⁾ of encyclopaedic information on the history of the Persian kings, which he happened to see in Iṣṭakhr in 303 A.H.. As Zotenberg⁷⁾ asserts, it is quite likely that the long extracts concerning the social hierarchy of the Persian court and of the Marzubāns in the *Murājju'dh-Dhahab*⁸⁾ may have been drawn from the *Āyin-nāma*, since these details and the definition of the work given by al-Masʿūdī, as a book of the customs and conventions of Persian society, point in this direction; but unfortunately he does not mention the name of Ibnu'l-Muqaffaʿ as the translator of this work. For the identification of this work with that of Ibnu'l-Muqaffaʿ mentioned in the *Fihrist* (p. 118, l. 27), our information rests on Ibnu'n-Nadīm and Ibn Qutayba. The former mentions various *Āyin-nāmas*⁹⁾ but it is likely that as Victor

1) *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, ed. Zotenberg, Préface p. xxiii.

2) Ed. C. Brockelmann (= *Q. U. A.*), pp. 24-5, 81-4, 139-43, 144, 165-6, 166-7, 186-9.

3) *Q. U. A.* pp. 24-25: قَرَأْتُ فِي كِتَابِ الْأَيِّنِ أَنَّ بَعْضَ مُلُوكِ الْعِجَمِ قَالَ فِي خُطْبَةٍ لَهُ إِنِّي إِنَّمَا أَمْلِكُ الْأَجْسَادَ لَا أَلِدَاتٍ وَأَحْكُمُ بِالْعَدْلِ لَا بِالرِّصَا وَأَمْعَصُ عَنِ الْأَعْمَالِ لَا عَنِ السَّرَائِرِ.

4) Cf. Vol. I, 10, ll. 23-25.

5) Ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bib. Geog. Arab. Vol. VIII (= *M. T. I.*)

6) A full description of this royal album is given by al-Masʿūdī.

7) *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, Préface, p. xxiii; cf. also *Kitābu'l-Tāj* of al-Jāhiz pp. 23 n. 3; 23-29.

8) Edited and translated by Barbier de Meynard (= *M. M. Dh.*), Vol. II, pp. 152-5; 240-1.

9) *Fihrist* p. 314, l. 21; p. 305, l. 12; p. 138, l. 3.

Rosen¹⁾ affirms, the كتاب الآيين في الاصر mentioned under the works of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa, the character and the nature of which are in agreement with the definition of al-Mas'ûdî and with the quotations in the 'Uyûnu'l-Akhhbâr, is the work in question, which formed an indirect source of al-'Awfî.

Identity of the
Ta'rikh-i-Mulûk-i-Ajam.

Of the six anecdotes, Nos. (2) to (7), in which the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulûk-i-Ajam* is cited, 5 two deal with Bahrâm Gûr, one with Gushtâsp, another with the Kisrá (probably Nûshîrwân) and the other two with Nûshîrwân; hence they give us a clue to the utilisation of a work, which in general contained an account of historical events, at least from the time of Gushtâsp to Nûshîrwân. As regard the identification of this work, serious difficulties come in our way; but similar quotations in the 'Uyûnu'l-Akhhbâr²⁾ and the 10 *Kitâbu'l-Ma'ârif*³⁾ of Ibn Qutayba, from a *Siyar-u'l-Ajam* and from another anonymous work, which is identified by Nöldeke⁴⁾ and Rosen⁵⁾ as the Arabic Translation of the *Khudîy-nâma* by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c, lead us to think that this work is meant here. But as early as 350 A. H., we know through Ḥamza b. Ḥasan al-Iṣfahânî⁶⁾ that at least eight Arabic versions of the *Khudîy-nâma* existed. Of all these the celebrated 15 but unfortunately lost version of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c is the one that has been most used by subsequent writers. References to the existence of this version and stray accounts from it are found as late as the 6th century A. H. or 12th A. D.

Critical studies
on the *Khudîy-nâma* in connection with various works.

Much light has been thrown on the origin, contents and versions of this important source for the ancient history of Persia, the *Khudîy-nâma*, by various Oriental 20 scholars, viz., Wallenbourg⁷⁾, Turner Macan⁸⁾, Quatremère⁹⁾, Jules Mohl¹⁰⁾, Th. Nöldeke¹¹⁾, Victor Rosen¹²⁾, H. Zotenberg¹³⁾, E. Mittwoch¹⁴⁾, and many important points have been elucidated from the extracts from this work, in connection with Ibnu'l-Muqaffa^c (d. circa 760 A. D.), al-Jāhiz¹⁵⁾ (d. 869 A. D.), Ibn Qutayba (d. 889 A. D.), al-Dinawarî (d. 895/6 A. D.), al-Ya'qûbî (d. 900 A. D.), the Patriarch of Alexandria Sa'îd 25

¹⁾ *Mélanges Asiatiques* (St. Petersburg) Tome VIII (1881) pp. 775-6.

²⁾ *Q. U. A.* pp. 24, 27, 30, 59, 67, 138-9, 143, 183-4, قرأت في بعض كتب العرب. pp. 121-2, 146-52, 216, قرأت في سير العرب.

³⁾ Ed. F. Wüstenfeld (1850) (= *Q. K. M.*) p. 320.

⁴⁾ *Tabari-Übersetzung*, Einleitung p. xxi.

⁵⁾ *Mélanges Asiatiques* (St. Petersburg) Tome VIII, pp. 775, 777.

⁶⁾ The *Ta'rikh-i-Sini Mulûki'l-Arâk-i-wa'l-Anbiya'* (Kaviani press, Berlin 1340 A. H.) (= *H. T. S.*) pp. 9-10.

⁷⁾ *Notice sur le Schâh-namé de Ferdousi*, etc. Vienna (1810).

⁸⁾ Edition of the *Shâh Nameh*: Introduction, Vol. I, for the Bâysunqurian Persian preface pp. 11-12.

⁹⁾ *Journal Asiatique* (New series) Tome XVI, pp. 532-4.

¹⁰⁾ *Le Livre des Rois*. Paris 1838. Vol. I. Preface, pp. x, xii, xvi, xiv, lii, also *Journal Asiatique* (1841) Introduction to 'Extraits du Modjmel-al-Tewarikh', pp. 5-7.

¹¹⁾ *Tabari-Übersetzung*, Einleitung pp. xiv-xv, also *Das iranische Nationalepos*, in *G. I. P.* Band II, pp. 142-6.

¹²⁾ *Mélanges Asiatiques* tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Imperiale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Tome VIII, (1881). "Zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte der alteren Zeit", Ibn Quteiba: *Kitâb 'Ujûn al-akhhbâr*, pp. 773-7; also *Postochnia samietke* (1895) St. Petersburg: On the question of the Arabic Translation of the *Khudîy-nâma*, pp. 153 et. seq.

¹³⁾ *Histoire des Rois des Perses*, Préface, pp. xxiii, xli-xliii.

¹⁴⁾ *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, Band XII, Abt. ii, Berlin (1909), p. 122: "Die literarische Tätigkeit Ḥamza al-Iṣfahânî". ¹⁵⁾ See Aḥmad Zakî Pâsha's *Taqdîr to the Kitâbu'l-Tâj* (1914).

b. Biṭrīq or Eutychius (d. 939 A.D.), al-Ṭabarī¹⁾ (d. 923 A.D.), al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956 A.D.), Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ma'marī and Abū Maṣṣūr b. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq the lord of Ṭūs, identified as Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq the lord of Ṭūs (r. 945-960 A.D.), Ḥamza b. Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (d. 961 or 971 A.D.), Ibnu'n Nadīm (d. 995 A.D.), Firdawsī (d. 1020 or 1025 A.D.), ath-Tha'ālibī (d. 1037 A.D.), al-Bīrūnī²⁾ (d. 1048 A.D.), Abū'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqī³⁾ (d. 1077/8 A.D.) and the anonymous author of the *Mujmalu't-Tawārikh* (composed about 1126 A.D.)⁴⁾.

Various problems connected with the *Ta'rikh-i-Muluk-i-'Ajam*.

In the past as well in modern times, the *Ta'rikh-i-Muluk-i-'Ajam*, variously designated as the *Ta'rikh-i-Mulūki'l-Furs*, *Ta'rikh-i-bani-Sūsān*, or the *Siyar-i-Mulūki'l-'Ajam* has been the subject of discussion, on account of its importance as¹⁰ an original source for the antiquities, legends, history, literature and civilization of the ancient Persian kingdom, but the identity and differentiation of the various versions of this work have been based on hypothetical grounds; and unless an extract from the original Pahlawī text of the work and a corresponding Arabic translation of it are happily discovered, we cannot really establish the exact relation of the former to the¹⁵ latter versions. Till then our conclusions for the most part will remain conjectural; for instance, concerning the thorny problems of the Dihqān-i-dānishwar, the prose version of the *Shāhnāma* prepared for Abū Maṣṣūr b. Abdu'r-Razzāq, the nature of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa's translation from the original work, the different versions mentioned by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and the relation of one to another, the work which formed the²⁰ real basis of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, and the partial genuineness of the Bāysunqurian preface. Prof. Nöldeke in the articles mentioned above has discussed these points thoroughly, but where data are not available he had to depend on historical reasoning.

References to the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī.

Three incidental references to the *Shāhnāma* occur in the *Ṭawāsiḥ*, in one of which the name of Firdawsī is also mentioned (A. f 50a. I. iv. 130). There appears to²⁵ be no evidence of direct utilisation, as there are no citations of verses from the *Shāhnāma*; whereas other verses from unknown sources are found in the chapter on the ancient kings of Persia. Besides this, these references are given simply by way of representing the incredible views of the Persians on the legendary history of their kings, and the *Shāhnāma* being the highest representative of their national epic is³⁰ referred to for further details; thus occasional resemblances are noticeable.

(1) The origin of the name of Minúchihir. (A. f 50a. I. iv. 130).

(2) The legend of the Birth of Zāl and of the Símurgh. (A. f 51a. I. iv. 131).

(3) The Haft Khwān of Isfandiyār. (A. f 61b. I. iv. 144).

The other three similar works mentioned in the *Ṭawāsiḥ*.

The *Siyar-i-Mulūk* which is mentioned in (No. 8) in connection with the Caliph³⁵ al-Ma'mūn is likely to be the work to which Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī refers as one that was acquired from the library of al-Ma'mūn, but no extract occurs in the *Ṭawāsiḥ*. In the anecdote (No. 9) in P. f 387b, Sha'bī⁵⁾ is mentioned as the author of the work, but other Mss. omit it, so the identity of this work also remains uncertain. The *Wāṣṣiyat-i-Ardashir* referred to in (No. 10), from which a quotation regarding the precautions⁴⁰

¹⁾ Cf. I, p. 707.

²⁾ B. A. B., p. 99.

³⁾ Ed. W. N. Lees, p. 116.

⁴⁾ Particulars about individual Arabic and Persian authors cited here will be found in the critical works mentioned above in the footnotes to p. 58.

⁵⁾ Cf. Q. A. B. p. 413, l. 5.

enjoined upon kings for their protection is given, appears to be the same work which occurs anonymously in the instructions of Ardashīr in the *ʿUyūnu'l-Akhhbār*. Then the *Ta'rikh-i-Akōsira* mentioned in (No. 11) is probably an early Pahlawī text which existed in the time of Nūshīrwān in the form of an official summary of the history of the Sāsānid kings.

Sources of
other similar
anecdotes un-
assignable.

Besides the above-mentioned anecdotes there are several others unasccribed which are likely to have been drawn from similar sources, for we find in them partial agreement with others extant; for instance, several anecdotes concerning the ancient Persian customs, method of administration or speeches or replies of the various kings agree sometimes with certain passages in the *ʿUyūnu'l-Akhhbār*, and at other times with the accounts given in *Ṭabari*, or in *Thaʿālibī's Ghurar*. The absence of sources in such cases, and the mixing up of various versions of the same story to shape out an anecdote in order to suit his chapter-headings, and the utilisation of secondary sources by al-ʿAwfī make it impossible for us to determine their exact sources; but in the connected accounts of the Persian kings in pt. I, ch. iv the case is otherwise, as will be noticed later on in connection with the *Ghurar*¹⁾.

(17) a. The *Ta'rikh-i-Nāṣiri*²⁾ b. The *Ta'rikh-i-Yamīni*³⁾

Reasons for
treating these
two sources si-
multaneously.

These two sources, although representing two distinct works, the former that of Abū'l-Fadhl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī⁴⁾, who was born about 386 A. H. = 996 A. D., composed the extant portions between 450/1 A. H. = 1058/9 A. D. and died in 470 A. H. = 1077 A. D.; and the latter that of Abū'n-Naṣr Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l-Jabbār al-ʿUṭbī, who wrote his *Kitābu'l-Yamīni* about 411 A. H. = 1020/1 A. D., and died in 427 A. H. = 1036 A. D., are not treated separately in this notice for the following reasons:

Firstly, amongst the 81 anecdotes on the Ghaznawids in the *Jawāmiʿ*⁵⁾, the titles of these two works are mentioned with little variation only in 11 anecdotes, in which 9 sources are given without the name of the author and 2 under the name of Abū Naṣr al-ʿUṭbī, e. g., as the *Ta'rikh-i-Nāṣiri* in Nos. 6) (1), (3), (5), (7) and (9), as the *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Nāṣiri* in No. (2), as the *Ta'rikh-i-Yamīni* in Nos. (4) and (8), as the *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamīni* in No. (10), as the *Kitāb-i-Yamīni* of Abū Naṣr-i-ʿUṭbī in No. (6) and as the *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamīni* of Abū Naṣr in No. (11), so that it is really difficult to distinguish, on the face of it, one work from the other, unless a thorough analysis of the contents of the anecdotes is made simultaneously.

¹⁾ See below, Notice No. (30)

²⁾ See Rieu's description of [Or. 1 Br. Mus.] Cat. Pers. Mss. Vol. I, pp. 158-60, regarding the various titles and the extant portion of al-Bayhaqī's work known as the *Ta'rikh-i-Mas'ūdī* (ed. from Morley Ms. by W. N. Lees = *B. T. M.*); and for a concise exposition of its contents, Biberstein Kaziminski's Introduction to the Dīwān of *ʿAfenoutchehrī*, Paris (1886).

³⁾ See Noldeke's account of the Arabic original of the *Yamīni* of al-ʿUṭbī and its relation to the Persian Translation of Jurbādhaqānī, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie*, Vienna, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 15-102 and Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, 314; and for an account of the Persian Translation, Rieu's description of [Add 24, 950 Br. Mus.] Cat. Pers. Mss. Vol. I, pp. 157-8, where all other references are also noticed.

⁴⁾ W. Barthold's article on him, in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 592-3; and for an important biography hitherto little made known, Ibn Funduq's *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaq* [Or. 3587 Br. Mus.] f 101 b-103 b.

⁵⁾ *Reclassification of the Contents* [s. v. Ghaznawids].

⁶⁾ As arranged in this Notice.

Secondly, the actual title of al-Bayhaqī's work is a disputable question. It is not known whether the author gave any title to the whole work, or while referring to the early volumes concerning the Sultān Maḥmūd as the *Ta'rikh-i-Yamīni* (*J. T. M.* pp. 26, 158) and (*Maqāmāt-i-Maḥmūdi*) (p. 176), he intended to give separate titles to separate volumes concerning the various rulers from the time of Sabuktigīn to Farrukhzād, as is asserted by Rieu. It has been observed by Mīrzā Muḥammad Khan¹⁾ that Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zayd, also called Ibn Funduq, a countryman of Abu'l-Faḍl who wrote his *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaq* in 563 A.H. = 1168 A.D., designates the whole work as the *Ta'rikh-i-Nāṣiri*; and the Mīrzā adds that this title is given in allusion to the *Āl-i-Nāṣir*, that is the descendants of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Sabuktigīn; but al-'Awfī makes use of both these titles, *e.g.* Nos. (8) and (9). Thirdly, the period and subject-matter covered by some of these anecdotes can be connected partly with the *Yamīni* of al-'Utbi and partly with the *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaq*; apparently, either owing to the loose appellation of the sources, *e.g.* No. (10), or to the indebtedness of al-'Awfī to al-Bayhaqī through al-'Utbi, *e.g.* No. (5), or a deliberate combination of both these sources for modelling his own anecdotes, *e.g.* No. (5). Fourthly, owing to the loss of the major portion of al-Bayhaqī's work — as it is often reported that the whole work consisted of thirty volumes, and only a small part, the end of Vol. V, the whole of Vols. VI–IX, and the beginning of Vol. X, containing the history of Mas'ūd I, 421–432 A.H. = 1030–41 A.D. has come down to us — we, on the one hand, cannot establish the relation of al-Bayhaqī's earlier volumes dealing with Sabuktigīn and Maḥmūd to al-'Utbi's *Yamīni* for these common anecdotes, and on the other, cannot exactly estimate the value and the amount of the work of al-Bayhaqī incorporated by al-'Awfī in his anecdotes of the Ghaznawids.

Summary of
the borrowed
anecdotes

The following is a summary of the anecdotes in which these two works are mentioned, according to the order of their occurrence in the *Jawāmi'*, to which dates and comparative references are supplied where possible.

- (1) The wondrous dreams of Sabuktigīn foretelling the rise of his dynasty, on the eve of the birth of his son Maḥmūd in 361 A.H. = 971 A.D.; and the coincident falling down of an idol and submerging of a temple at (فَصْرٌ) (و هَيْدَة) in India, as reported by the expelled Muslims, (*A.* f 233a. I. xxi. 1072). The *Ta'rikh-i-Nāṣiri* is mentioned as the source; probably it is taken from the earlier portion of al-Bayhaqī's history, concerning Sabuktigīn. The second dream resembles very closely the one given by Minhāj-i-Sirāj in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* (p. 9), where the birth of Maḥmūd is placed in 371 A.H., and the well-known dream of Sabuktigīn about the rising of a tree from the fire-place and the falling down of the idol in Parshawar is connected with the first event.
- (2) The silent joy of the Caliph 'Uṭhmān at the dispersion of a party of revellers, whom he intended to punish in observance of the Islamic law, (*D.* f 124a. II. vii. 1318). The *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Nāṣiri* is mentioned as the source, but it is not traceable in the extant portion.

1) *Lubb*, Pt. I, p. 296.

2) Probably Wayhind or Ohind, cf. *Ērānshahr* p. 299.

- (3) Sabuktigín's compassion on a deer and its young one, during his chase, at the time when he possessed only a single horse; and his rise foretold by the Prophet in dream, as a result of his humaneness towards the animal, (D. f 124b. II. vii. 1319). The *Ta'rikh-i-Násirí* is given as the source; and the story is found in the extant portion of al-Bayhaqí (*B. T. M.* pp. 238-40). 5
- (4) Absolute refusal of the Khwája Abu'l-'Abbás al-Isfará'íní to deliver a slave demanded by the Sultan Maḥmúd, and his consequent downfall, (D. f 191a. II. xxv. 1536). The *Ta'rikh-i-Yamíní* as the source.
- (5) The preposterous attempt of the Ílak Khán of Máwará'u'n-Nahr on Khurásán, while the Sultan Maḥmúd was engaged in Multán, his immediate return, and ¹⁰ subjugation of the Khán. (D. f 192b. II. xxv. 1539). Although the *Ta'rikh-i-Násirí* is mentioned as the source, this anecdote can be traced in parts in the *Yamíní*¹⁾ of al-'Utbí; from this it can be inferred that al-'Awfí is indebted to al-Bayhaqí through al-'Utbí.
- (6) Ṭugháytiġín or Ṭughán Khán attacked by Báytúz or Báytú, the ruler of Bust, ¹⁵ seeks protection from Sabuktigín, who after a hard struggle restores him to Bust, but owing to the treacherous conduct of Ṭugháytiġín, Sabuktigín annexes Bust to his kingdom and punishes the rebels, (D. f 230a. III. x. 1648). The *Kildb-i-Yamíní*²⁾ of Abú Naṣr al-'Utbí is given as the source. This anecdote begins as in 'Utbí and Jurbádhaġání, but the historical narrative is probably supplemented by some other source. ²⁰
- (7) Abú Sahl [Muḥammad b. Ḥasan] Zawzaní *'Aridhí*, persuades Sultan Maṣ'úd to recover the wealth distributed by his brother Muḥammad, and enforces confiscation against the weighty opposition of Abú Naṣr Mushkáńí and Khwája Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí, his colleagues, which brings disrepute on Maṣ'úd and causes serious trouble in the kingdom, and consequently tells upon Abú Sahl Zawzaní in ²⁵ the affair of Altúntásh Khwárazmsháh, (D. f 246b. III. xiv. 1696). The *Ta'rikh-i-Násirí* is mentioned as the source. This long citation gives us a real clue to the method of utilisation of the work of al-Bayhaqí by al-'Awfí. (*B. T. M.* pp. 311-5, 390-2).
- (8) The usurpation of Ṭughríl, the tyrannical regime of Abú Sahl Zawzaní, ending in ³⁰ the assassination of Ṭughríl at the hands of his Turkish guard, and the coronation of Farrukhzád in 444 A. H. = 1053 A. D., (D. f 259b. III. xviii. 1719). The *Ta'rikh-i-Yamíní* is mentioned as the source. This anecdote is not found in the extant portion of al-Bayhaqí's work; probably it is taken from the earlier or later volumes of al-Bayhaqí, as can be inferred from his habit of referring to past and coming ³⁵ events in the portion dealing with Maṣ'úd.
- (9) Tímán, an upstart, gets into the favour of the Amír 'Abdu'r-Rashíd of Ghazna (reigned between 440-4 A. H. = 1049-52 A. D.), and terrorises the people by espionage, and mismanagement in Parsháwar (Peshawar); upon which the Khwája Abú Ṭáhir Ḥusayn b. 'Alí is sent for investigation, and on his report to the Šáhib-i-Díwán-i ⁴⁰

¹⁾ *Yamíní* [Add. 7310 Br. Mus.] f 119a, f 132b-f 136a = Sprenger litho. pp. 266, 376 = *Maníní*, marginal text. Vol. I, p. 76 = *Jurbádhaġání* [Add. 24, 950 Br. Mus.] f 173b, ff 179 et seq.

²⁾ *Yamíní* [Add. 7310 Br. Mus.] ff 11 = Sprenger litho. p. 19 = *Maníní*, marginal text. Vol. I, p. 64 et seq. = *Jurbádhaġání* [Add. 24, 950 Br. Mus.] ff 16.

Risalat, Abu'l-Fadhl al-Bayhaqi (the historian), Tuman is temporarily dismissed, but again gets into power and dismisses Abu'l-Fadhl, spreads terror, and ruins the state; finally the Amir himself is murdered, (D. f 262b. III. xix. 1728). The *Ta'rikh-i-Nasiri* is mentioned as the source; this account appears to have been drawn from the later volumes of al-Bayhaqi, as the historian himself promised (*B. T. M.* p. 122), and probably this account brings the history to the year 444 A.H.

- (10) Admonition of the Sultan Mahmud to his brother Nasr, by ordering the royal drums to be beaten at his palace, as a signal of warning for abusing the royal prerogative of thrashing a slave, (D. f 8a. IV. ii. 1802). The *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamini* is mentioned as the source. Cf. also (A. f 141b. I. iv. 494) where the same anecdote is given in fuller detail without acknowledgement of the source.
- (11) An account of the early wars between the Hindu Shah of Kabul and Sabuktigin, and the advice of an old woman (نفر) to pollute the wondrous spring¹⁾ in the neighbourhood of Nagharu (نجر) which brought about a snow-storm and led to the victory of Sabuktigin in 369 A.H. = 979 A.D., (D. f 78b. IV. xx. 2002). The *Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamini* of Abu Nasr [al-'Utbī] is mentioned as the source. In the *Yamini* this anecdote is traceable, but it differs in details. In the original²⁾ as well as in the translation of Jurbadhaqani the king is mentioned as Jayapala and the place of the battle as Farwan and Lamaghān, emphasis is laid on the fierce battle and undecisiveness of the issue, and the trick of polluting the spring and the snow-storm are mentioned in a different manner; whereas in the *Jawami'* emphasis is laid on the skill of the young warrior Mahmud³⁾, on the advice of the old woman, which is not found in the original, and on the curious natural property of the spring. Probably this is to suit his chapter-heading, viz. "On the Chemical Properties of Natural Objects."

al-'Awfi's
utilisation of
al-Bayhaqi's
history.

As regards the method of the utilisation of al-Bayhaqi's history by al-'Awfi, we possess two definite quotations (Nos. 3, 7), one about Sabuktigin's compassion on the deer, and the other about Abu Sahl Zawzan's machinations in the early reign of Mas'ud, in both of which the *Ta'rikh-i-Nasiri* is mentioned as the source. In both works No. (3), which al-'Awfi abridges, is by way of illustration of the humaneness of Sabuktigin, but No. (7) is a fairly long extract from which we can arrive at certain definite conclusions. In the original, it begins with the account of the entry of the Sultan Mas'ud into the capital, Ghazna, in 422 A.H. after his father's death, and serves as a prologue to Mas'ud's eventful reign, which is dealt with by al-'Awfi in a few sentences. The real point of comparison, or rather the main purpose of al-'Awfi, is to illustrate how corruption can commence in a state by the adoption of counsels based on mean and selfish motives, whereas in the original, apart from a similar purpose, the narrative is coloured

¹⁾ Cf. Muqaddasi, *Ahsan'ut-Ta'asim*, ed. M. J. de Goeje. Bib. Geog. Arab. VIII, p. 303: probably near Shiyān, a town in Askimasht where there was a wonderful spring; *Y. M. B.* Vol III, p. 345 mentions it as a village in Bust, and on (p. 886) Farwan as a small town in Ghazna; *L. E. C.* p. 350, the Banjhr or Kabul river flowed out towards the plains of India, past Farwan; but in *Y. M. B.* IV, p. 797, Nagharu a town in Sind, 6 days from Ghazna.

²⁾ *Yamini* [Add. 7310 Br. Mus.] f 13b-14b = Sprenger, litho. p. 23 = *Manini* (Cairo 1286), marginal text p. 74 = *Jurbadhaqani* [Add. 24, 950 Br. Mus.] ff 20. ³⁾ He is stated to have been 14 years old.

by al-Bayhaqī's personal bias against Abu Sahl Zawzanī and in favour of Abū Naṣr Mushkānī and Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī. The whole account corresponds in general, even certain expressions are similar — except for a few minor additions and omissions — and the story of Abū Sahl's dismissal is continued and supplemented from the later extant portion of the original. In such citations it is to be observed that the first person is substituted for the third, the language is always al-ʿAwfī's own, and the method of narration is simple and uniform with the entire scheme of the work. These parallel texts offer us a unique opportunity of judging the evolution of historical prose and its transition from the archaic (5th century) to the comparatively modern (7th century A.H.) Persian style.

Observations
concerning the
later portions
of al-Bayhaqī's
work

Besides these acknowledged and established citations it is extremely probable that Nos. (8) and (9) are drawn from the lost volumes of the *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaqī*, as both of them are immediately connected with the career of al-Bayhaqī and probably bring the record of events down to his own times. The tyranny of Tūmān, the assassination of the Amīr ʿAbdu'r-Rashīd, and again Abū Sahl Zawzanī's high-handedness in the short period of Tughril's usurpation and the coronation of Farrukhzād, the then reigning monarch, lead us to think that these minute details would not have been given by al-ʿAwfī if al-Bayhaqī had not actually written them, in spite of the rambling narrative, disregard of chronological sequence, insertion of past and coming events, and the discursive and illustrative method of al-Bayhaqī.

Other un-
acknowledged,
common anec-
dotes from al-
Bayhaqī's ex-
tant portion

There are other anecdotes in which the source is not mentioned, but the resemblance is very strong, e.g. the exemplary punishment which the Sultan Maḥmūd meted out to an elephant-keeper (A. f 145b. I. ix. 522) = (B. T. M. pp. 557-8), the disgrace of Fadhl b. Rabf (A. f 192a. I. xiv. 769) = (B. T. M. pp. 29-35), al-Ma'mūn's policy in burning the treasonable letters addressed to al-Amīn (B. T. M. pp. 35-6), the Caliph Harūnu'r-Rashīd and the pious Ibnu's-Sammāk (A. f 197b. I. xv. 797) = (B. T. M. pp. 638-43), Alexander and the institution of the Tribal Kings (B. T. M. p. 105), from which we can infer that al-ʿAwfī borrowed occasionally other illustrative anecdotes given by al-Bayhaqī, apart from the very important material for the Ghaznawids, in which the *Ḥawamī* is so rich.

al-ʿAwfī's dis-
regard of the
original source
in utilising the
Yamīnī of al-
ʿUtbī.

Concerning the utilisation of the *Kitābu'l-Yamīnī* of al-ʿUtbī the following remarks are based on the three anecdotes Nos. (5), (6) and (11), of which the last two are acknowledged to have been borrowed from the *Yamīnī*. In No. (5) about the preposterous attempt of Īlāk Khān and his discomfiture, the *Ta'rikh-i-Nāṣiri* is mentioned as the source, but the whole account is traceable to the *Yamīnī*. Unfortunately we do not possess the parallel text of al-Bayhaqī for this portion; in that case it would have been possible to establish a twofold indebtedness of al-ʿAwfī to al-ʿUtbī and to estimate the relation of al-Bayhaqī's text to the *Yamīnī* of al-ʿUtbī. Here a few points are given about the relation of al-ʿAwfī's anecdotes to the Arabic original of the *Yamīnī*. In this anecdote about Īlāk Khān there is no attempt at rhetorical imitation as in Jurbādhaqānī, on the contrary bare historical facts are collected from various portions of the *Yamīnī* and brought within the compass of a single anecdote, regardless of the original order, minor details, extraneous matter and profuse imagery of al-ʿUtbī. In No. (6), about the annexation of Bust, the story begins as in al-ʿUtbī and Jurbādhaqānī, without any direct textual resemblances with the one or the other,

and is augmented with such minute details as are found in neither. For instance, in the original it is reported that Ṭughān Khān treacherously gave a wound to Sabuktigīn and the latter, on the other hand, also wounded and banished him; this fact is entirely ignored by al-'Awfī. According to al-'Awfī, in the early stages of the attack of Báytúz, Sabuktigīn was unhorsed — which caused panic for some time — and later 5 when Ṭughāytigīn was restored to Bust, he did not fulfil his promises and made common cause with his brother and turned traitor, whereupon Sabuktigīn, secretly informed of his designs, overcomes him and annexes Bust. Similarly in No. (111), about the victory of Sabuktigīn over the Shāh of Kābul, the version of the two stories differs in details and is much shortened. In spite of the freedom which Jurbadhaqānī takes 10 with the Arabic original as has been duly remarked by Prof. Noldeke, one can find a reproduction of the original, but in al-'Awfī's anecdotes it is difficult to trace even partial agreement with either of these, unless a special effort is made; hence al-'Awfī is not faithful to this source, and this is an exception to his general mode of utilising his sources, which has been indicated throughout this chapter 15

(18) a. The *Kitabu't-Taysir fi't-Tafsir*¹⁾.

Anecdotes
taken from this
Commentary.

This Commentary on the *Qur'ān* by the Imām Najmu'd-Dīn Abu Ḥafṣ Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasafī (460-537 A.H. = 1068-1142 A.D.), very well known in the East as one of the pillars of the Ḥanafite school, through his treatise on the Sunnī creed, the *'Aqd'idu'n-Nasafiyya*, is cited with acknowledgement three 20 times in the *Fawā'id*.

- (1) 'Amr b. Murra's earnest advice to a questioner not to cavil at the mysterious verses of the *Qur'ān*²⁾, called the "*Mutashābihāt*", (A. f 26b. I. ii. 31).
 - (2) The formula of prayer adopted by the Prophet Yūsuf in his confinement in the well at Kan'ān, (D. f 17b. IV. v. 1835).
 - (3) The account of the seven magic cities in Babylon built for Namrūd, (D. f 76a. IV. xix. 1994). 25
- The work being inaccessible, the present writer is unable to verify these anecdotes from the original.

b. The *'Uyūnu'l-Akhyār*.

Source un-
identifiable.

Another work of an-Nasafī is also cited, but the identity of it is uncertain. Firstly, there is a difference in the reading of the last word of the title, which in some Mss. is found as *'Uyūnu'l-Akhyār*; secondly, the full name of the author is not mentioned; 30 thirdly, the *nisba* an-Nasafī is ambiguous, as there are a number of people who rose from the town of Nasaf and distinguished themselves in various branches of Islamic learning; fourthly, there does not appear any work of this title in Brockelmann or H. Khalfa, attributed to 'Umar an-Nasafī; fifthly, the only anecdote taken from this work does not afford us any sure means of identification; it is as follows: the gra- 35 ciousness of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa towards his rowdy neighbour resulting in reformation of the latter's character. (D. f 134a. II. x. 1353).

¹⁾ See *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 487, No. 3811 and Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 427-8.

²⁾ *Sūra* iii, verse 5.

(19). The *Kitāb-i-Khalqu'l-Insān wa Khulqu'l-Insān*.

Account of
the work given
by al-'Awfi.

This title¹⁾ was once very popular with the philologists, nearly thirty authors from the time of al-Aṣma'ī to Jalālu'd-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, the famous polygraph, having adopted it for different subjects, but al-'Awfi has particularly mentioned the name of the author and has given a short account of this work in the *Lubāb*²⁾, from which, we gather that the author, the Imām Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad an-Nīshāpūrī³⁾ wrote it under the following circumstances: "And when it came to his knowledge, that in the lands of the West (probably Andulus), a Commentary on the *Qur'ān* had been prepared in fifty volumes, he, in exposition of a single Verse (li, 21), namely, «وَفِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ أَفَلَا تُبْصِرُونَ» compiled a hundred volumes, fifty on the خَلْق and fifty on the خُلُق of man." Thus arose the title of this work. al-'Awfi has studied it and cites¹⁰ it 8 times in the following anecdotes, which owing to the loss of the work remain unverified.

Borrowed
anecdotes.

- (1) The blaspheming caligraphist who wrote a miniature *Qur'ān* in six days, when asked, impudently cited from the *Qur'ān* the Verse (I, 37) about the period of creation, upon which his hand was withered. (A. f 25b. I. i. 29).¹⁵
- (2) The growing suspicion of the Caliph Hārūn and the final disgrace of the Barmecides, (A. f 106a. I. v. 302).
- (3) The Qādhī of Raqqa compels 'Isā b. Ja'far to discharge his liabilities, (A. f 124b. I. vi. 394).
- (4) The dream of Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq, the author, about the rise of the Sultan Bahrāmshāh²⁰ of Ghazna. (A. f 233a. I. xxi. 1069).
- (5) The trick of a miserable person who wanted to deprive his nephew of his inheritance, (D. f 174b II. xxii. 1489).
- (6) Jealousy of a vindictive neighbour, which called down doom upon himself, (D. f 197b. III. ii. 1557).²⁵
- (7) A miser's habit of talking to any piece of coin which happened to fall into his hands, (D. f 228a. III. ix. 1640).
- (8) A joke which led to the execution of a murderer. (D. f 59a. IV. xiii. 1934).

Probable
nature of its
contents.

From the nature of these citations and from the basic Verse, it can be inferred that this work contained illustrations of human nature, drawn from various points of³⁰ view. It is not known whether it was in Arabic or Persian, but it is likely that the author, since he lived at the court of Bahrāmshāh (r. 511-52 A. H. = 1117/8-57/8 A. D.) may have written it in Persian. About the author's son who also flourished in the reign of Bahrāmshāh we shall speak later on in connection with the Persian translation of the *Ghurār* called the *Ra'y-Ārdy*³⁾, but very little is known about Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq³⁵ himself beyond what al-'Awfi mentions in the *Fawāmi* and the *Lubāb*.

¹⁾ See for the various *Khalqu'l-Insān*, *H. Khal.*, Vol. III, pp. 172-3; *Jān Khal.*, (Wust.) Biog. Nos. 12, 85, 262, 272, 281, 389, 590, 646, 653, 741.

²⁾ Pt. I, p. 281.

³⁾ See below, Notice No. (22).

(20). The *Khawass-i-Ishyá*.

Connection
of al-'Awfi
with this work.

This treatise on the medicinal properties of natural substances was written by Sharafu'z-Zamán Majdu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. 'Adnán as-Surkhakātí, the court physician to the Sultan Qilij Ṭamgháj Khán Ibráhím ibnu'l-Husayn who ruled in Samarqand 1178–1200 A.D., the maternal uncle of al-'Awfí, and also the author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Turkistán* mentioned previously, a short biographic sketch of whom is given in the *Lubb*¹⁾. The connection of our author with this book is very interesting; he relates it himself in an anecdote which gives an account of a discussion on the famous line of the poet Manṣúr-i-Manṭiqí:

سان مرد ایرانی شست ، بیاغ اندر گلی شگفت خندان

which took place at the court of the Prince of Samarqand, Nuṣratu'd-Dín 'Uṭhman b. Ibráhím, about the year 597 A.H., (D. f 80a. IV. xx. 2008). Our author having studied and even transcribed this treatise of his uncle was able to explain the allusion of the poet to the peculiar property of a stone called the *Hajaru'l-Báhit*, which is found in Tibet and is said to produce an extremely exhilarating effect on strangers. Muqaddasí and other ancient geographers have particularly remarked the effect of the land of Tibet on foreigners; Zakariyyá al-Qazwíní²⁾ also mentions a stone of the above name, possessing similar properties. This work has probably been utilised advantageously in illustrating his chapter in the *Ṣawámi*³⁾, "On the Properties of Natural Objects" (Pt. IV, ch. xx), but unfortunately it has not come down to us.

(21). The *Dastur-i-I'uzará*.

A work hitherto
unknown

This Manual for the Wazírs is ascribed by al-'Awfí to the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím b. Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd of Ghazna, entitled *Zahíru'-Dawla* (reigned 451–92 A.H. = 1059–99 A.D.). No account of this work is found in other contemporary sources, but al-'Awfí's reference to it, and the contents of the anecdote in the *Ṣawámi*⁴⁾ (D. f 241 b. III. xiii. 1684), are direct proofs of its existence, and upon these the present notice of the work is based. But unfortunately only one citation is given, from which we cannot possibly determine the exact value of this work. The anecdote in question gives an account of a Chief of the police called Báwardí (؟) who explains the mystery of his successful management of the city of Ghazna in the days of the Sultan Maḥmúd, the grandfather of the author of the *Dastúr* i.e. the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dín Ibráhím. It is introduced in the chapter "On the Despicability of Hard-heartedness and the Praiseworthiness of Humaneness", and is narrated to illustrate the apparent harshness of the Chief, who was at heart very kind. If anything can be gathered about the nature of the contents of this source, it may be said on the basis of this anecdote that the Sultan, who as has been suggested by Minháj-i-Siráj⁵⁾ and Abu'l-Fadhl⁶⁾ al-

¹⁾ See Pt. I, pp. 179–81, also above, pp. 8, 4+.

²⁾ *M. T. N.*, for the reign of the Ghaznawid Ibráhím, pp. 19–20.

³⁾ *B. T. M.*, p. 823.

⁴⁾ *Q. A. M.* pp. 211–2.

Bayhaqī, a contemporary historian, being very earnest about the administration of his kingdom which had sustained heavy losses in the reigns of his predecessors at the hands of the Saljūqs, wrote this manual with the idea of imparting political advice to his ministers, through the example of his predecessors and other successful sovereigns. 5

There are a few more anecdotes in the *Jawāmi'* concerning the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm of Ghazna, but their sources are not mentioned; still, a short summary of them is given here, to illustrate the various aspects of this royal personage, the author of the *Dastūr*. (See also above p. 30, II. 1-8).

- (1) His consultation with Abu'l-Qāsim Ḥuşayrī, the old counsellor of Maḥmūd. 10 (A. f 128a. I. vii. 405).
- (2) His anxiety to appoint a suitable successor to his old Hājib-i-Buzurg, (probably Badr or Urtigīn as mentioned by Bayhaqī, *B. T. M.* p. 824) (A. f 128a. I. vii. 406).
- (3) The dream of his Wazīr, Khwāja Buzurg, Bihruz b. Aḥmad, and the interpretation that he would manage the affairs of a part of the globe (Ghazna). (A. f 233a. I. xxi. 1070). 15

(22). The *Ra'y-Ārāy*.

An account of
the author and
of this work.

This Persian Translation of ath-Tha'ālibī's *Ghurar-i-Akhhōr-i-Muluki'l-Furs-i-wa Siyar-i-him* is known to us correctly through al-'Awfī only. In the *Lubāb*¹⁾ a short notice of the author Fakhru'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq b. Aḥmad an-Nīshāpūrī occurs, and in the *Jawāmi'*²⁾ (B. f 45b = G. f 48b. I. iv. 183) this work is 20 referred to. In the *Haft Iqlīm*³⁾ it is mentioned as the *Ra'y-i-Jahān Ārāy*; H. Khalfā⁴⁾ mentions it under the same title as al-'Awfī, but ascribes it to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nīshāpūrī, omitting the name of his father, Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq Maḥmūd, noticed previously as the author of the *Khalqu'l-Insān*⁵⁾. In this respect the account given by al-'Awfī is trustworthy, since he is speaking from first-hand knowledge of the 25 work. The author of the *Ra'y-Ārāy* was one of the eminent persons who lived at the court of Bahramshāh the Ghaznawid (r. 511-52 A.H. = 1117/8-57/8 A.D.), and was sent as an emissary to the camp of the invading Saljūq King Sanjar at Taknābād in 529 A.H. = 1134-5 A.D., in order to negotiate peace terms, on which occasion he addressed a quatrain to the Sultan Sanjar, glorifying his overlordship. At this time 30 the author was far advanced in age, so much so that a special conveyance was sent for him and respect was paid to him in the enemy's camp. al-'Awfī also mentions his other works, the *Tafsīr-i-Baṣḍ'ir-i-Yamīnī*⁶⁾, and the *Ṣaḥīfatul-Iqbāl*⁷⁾, but apparently all these three are lost. As regards the utilisation of this translation by al-'Awfī we cannot say with certainty the amount of matter incorporated by al-'Awfī, since al-'Awfī 35 has also used the original⁸⁾ of ath-Tha'ālibī for the accounts of the Ancient Kings of Persia.

¹⁾ Pt. I, pp. 281-2.

²⁾ [Or. 203 Br. Mus.] f 224a.

³⁾ See above, Notice No. (19).

⁴⁾ *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 55, No. 1855. Cf. also, Ivanow, Cat. Pers. Mss. Asiatic Society of Bengal No. 956.

⁵⁾ *H. Khal.*, Vol. IV, p. 100, No. 8828.

⁶⁾ See above, Notice No. (13), p. 52.

⁷⁾ *H. Khal.* Vol. III, p. 342, No. 5855.

⁸⁾ See below, Notice No. (30).

(23). The *Rabī'u'l-Abrār* ¹⁾.

An account
of the work in
connection
with the cited
anecdote.

This work of the great Mu'tazilite commentator and philologist Abu'l Qasim Maḥmūd b. 'Umar az-Zamakhsharī²⁾, surnamed Jāru'llah, (d. 1143 A.D.) is quoted in the *Ḥawāṣi*³⁾ only once in connection with the traditional account of the extinction of the fabulous bird 'Anqā', (D. f 93a. IV. xxiv. 2067). In the words of az-Zamakhsharī as quoted by H. Khalfa⁴⁾: "This work is designed to inflame the minds of the readers of the *Kashshaf 'an Ḥaqā'iqi't-Tanzīl*, and to direct the attention of the wearied minds towards the sources of its information and its secrets". The complete work is called the *Rabī'u'l-Abrār wa Nuṣūṣu'l-Akhyār*, of which various later selections are enumerated in Brockelmann. One of these selections is entitled the *Rawḍhu'l-Akhyār*⁵⁾, and quotations from this work are generally found in works on Tradition and the Qur'ānic sciences, e.g. the passage in question is found in ad-Damirī's *Ḥayātu'l-Ḥayawānu'l-Kubrā*⁶⁾ also. This anecdote is found in the fourteenth *Rawḍha*⁷⁾ dealing with the Angels, the Jinn, the Demons, and the Animals, where the account of the extinction of the 'Anqā' is recorded on the authority of the early commentator 'Abdu'llah b. 'Abbās. In this very anecdote al-'Awfī cites another version from Muḥammad b. Sā'ib al-Kalbi's Commentary as noticed above⁸⁾, and both these quotations are faithfully translated.

(24). The *Risālatu'l-Qushayriyya* ⁹⁾.

The *Risāla*
as a ground-
work for a few
anecdotes
about the Sūfis.

This famous tract on Ṣūfism by Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdu'l-Karīm b. Hawāzin al-Qushayrī¹⁰⁾ (b. 376 d. 465 A.H. = 986–1073 A.D.) is one of the acknowledged sources of the *Ḥawāṣi*. It was composed in 437 A.H. = 1045–6 A.D., as Dr. Nicholson¹¹⁾ observes, "with the avowed object of demonstrating that the history and traditions of Ṣūfism are bound up with strict observance of the Mohammedan religious law", and Goldziher¹²⁾ characterises it as "eine Reaktion der positiven Gesetzlichkeit gegen den Nihilismus der Mystik". Although al-'Awfī had no intention of writing either a systematic account of the development of Ṣūfism or strictly chronological or class-wise biographies of the Ṣūfis, as the author of the original had in view, the choice of the *Risāla* as a ground-work for his sketches of the lives of the saints in pt. I, ch. iii, reflects to a certain extent the moderate Ṣūfism to which our author was devoted.

¹⁾ See Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 292; for Mss. of this work and its selections, see Hammer, W. Jahrb. 63 Anz. Bl. p. 231; old Arabic Cat. Br. Mus. pp. 334a, 513a, and Suppl. Ar. Cat. Br. Mus. pp. 714–5.

²⁾ See for his life, *Ibn Khal.*, (Wust.) Biog. No. 721.

³⁾ Vol. III, p. 344, No. 5868.

⁴⁾ Printed in Bulāq (1280 A.H.).

⁵⁾ (= D. H. H.) Bulāq (1284 A.H.) Vol. II, p. 194.

⁶⁾ *Rawḍhu'l-Akhyār* (p. 99).

⁷⁾ See above, Notice No. (4) b. p. 39.

⁸⁾ See *H. Khal.*, Vol. II, p. 152, No. 6271; Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 432; Rieu's description of [Or. 3502] Suppl. Ar. Cat. Br. Mus. pp. 147–8. (Bulāq 1287 Edition = *R. Q.*); also Richard Hartmann's Einleitung to *Al-Kushairī's Darstellung des Ṣūfismus*, Berlin 1914.

⁹⁾ See for his life, *Ansāb*. (facs.) 453b; *Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb* p. 167; *Ta'rikhu'l-Islām* [Or. 50 Br. Mus.] f. 100; *Ibn Khal.* (Wust.) Biog. No. 367.

¹⁰⁾ *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* p. 33.

¹¹⁾ *Vorlesungen über den Islam* p. 175.

His main interest lying in anecdotal illustration and biographic details, he selected only those portions of the *Risāla*, which is so valuable as a collection of sayings, anecdotes and definitions, that would enrich his own collection of anecdotes, and particularly, the first chapter of the first section "On the account of the chiefs of this path and that which accrues from their lives and sayings towards the observance of the religious law", and based on it nearly thirteen short accounts of the lives of the Ṣūfīs of the first order from Ibrāhīm b. Adham al-Balkhī (d. 161 A.H. = 777 A.D.) to Ḥatīm al-Aṣamm (d. 237 A.H. = 851 A.D.). Besides these, there are other traces in the *Fawāmi*¹⁾ from which we can infer that al-ʿAwfī has utilised other chapters of the *Risāla* on ethical virtues from a similar point of view.

al-ʿAwfī utilised the Arabic original and not the Persian Translation of the *Risāla*.

As regards the utilisation of the *Risāla*, the manner of al-ʿAwfī's²⁾ alluding to it and other internal evidence from the cited passages indicate a direct use of the Arabic original rather than the Persian version represented by the Br. Mus. Codex [Or. 4118]³⁾; even though the latter, owing to its priority and characteristic early features, might have been known to him. Unfortunately nothing is known either about the translator or the date of his work; we have only the name of the transcriber and the date of this transcript which is 601 A.H. = 1205 A.D.; but the archaic spelling, the construction of the sentences, the choice of words, the idiom and mode of expression, the simplicity and directness of style, the literal and exact rendering — excepting as regards the introduction and the poetical citations which are retained in Arabic and at times vocalised, the partial omission of the fuller links of narration, and the inversion of the order of a few chapters — definitely point to its having been translated at a much earlier epoch, probably in the beginning of the 6th century of the *Hijra*, and entitle it to a place amongst the classical translations of the pre-Mongolian period. Thus, a comparison of the style of the identical passages in it and in the *Fawāmi* with the original determines, on the one hand, the early nature of this version and a marked difference between the two; and on the other, the use of the Arabic original by al-ʿAwfī.

Comparison of the Persian Translation and the *Fawāmi* with the original.

The account of the Ṣūfī saint Dhu'n-Nūn-i-Miṣrī (d. 245 A.H. = 860 A.D.) will perhaps serve as a typical example for such a comparative study, as it is partly common to all the three and even to the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā'*. In the Arabic text of al-Qushayrī (p. 9) it begins with short biographical details and Dhu'n-Nūn's interview with the Caliph al-Mutawakkil and extends to his epigrammatic sayings and other doctrines, *e.g.* the signs of the lovers of God, and to his story of conversion and repentance. The Persian version (ff 14) follows almost all the details closely and even retains in some places the Arabic construction of the sentences. In the *Fawāmi* (A. f 39b. I. iii. 83) the earlier portion consisting of biographic details is given in a short form, and other particulars *e.g.* his interview and sayings, are omitted, but the central fact of his conversion to Ṣūfism is given prominence, *i.e.* the story of the miraculous provision of two dishes for a blind lark and the object-lesson drawn from it by Dhu'n-

¹⁾ *E.g.* (D. f 35b. IV. x. 1889).

²⁾ (A. f 39a. I. iii. 82) «و استاد ابو القاسم قشیری رحمه الله علیه در رسالت خویش او [یعنی ابراهیم بن آدم بن منصور] را بر جمله مشایخ مقدم داشته است»

³⁾ See Rieu's description of its contents, Suppl. Cat. Pers. Mss. pp. 9-10.

Nún, which is the immediate point of a comparison in this case. In the Arabic original all the links of transmission from Dhu'n-Nún to al-Qushayrī¹⁾ are given; in the Persian version the two latest authorities are omitted and the story is connected with Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn, who was present when Dhu'n-Nún himself related the cause of his repentance to Sálīm al-Maghribí; and in the *Ḥawāṣṣi* all the intermediate links are dropped out except Sálīm al-Maghribí, and the story is in al-'Awfī's own language, which is not so precise and faithful a translation as the Persian version, and appears to be quite independent of it, containing a few additional anecdotal embellishments; whereas in the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'* (pt. I, p. 115, ll. 21-5) all the authorities are omitted, the story is abridged and the facts are altered; and it is welded with other stories of his awakening in order to produce an effect by the continuity of his experiences, regardless of any biographical truth or fidelity to the original.

Comparison
of al-'Attār and
al-'Awfī's me-
thods of uti-
lising the *Risāla*

Attention has already been called (p. 40) to the inaccuracy of Farīdu'd-Dīn al-'Attār²⁾ in the utilisation of the *Asrār-u't-Tawhīd*, and the same remark holds good in the case of the *Risāla*; a comparison of al-'Attār's and al-'Awfī's texts of identical passages with the Arabic original will further illustrate this point clearly. al-'Attār's method of dealing with his sources, which he does not acknowledge, yet which becomes noticeable after a close examination, is precarious. At times he abridges and alters the original completely, as in the case of the last-mentioned anecdote of Dhu'n-Nún's conversion, and in other cases he develops, augments the bulk of the story with details of his own invention, changes the order of the events irrespective of chronological sequence or historical accuracy, and narrates in such a form that the original is entirely neglected, *e.g.* the anecdote of the conversion to Ṣūfism of Ibráhīm b. Adham al-Balkhī, connected with the hunt and the mysterious voice proclaiming, "O Ibráhīm! is it for this that thou wast created or is it for this that thou wast commanded?". In the Arabic original (p. 9) as well as in the Persian version [Or. 4118 Br. Mus.] f 126, this account is sketchy and brief, and couched in direct and simple language, and similarly in the *Ḥawāṣṣi* (A. f 39a. l. 82) there is a very close agreement between the text of this story and the Arabic original, whereas in the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'* (pt. I, pp. 86-7) it is narrated at twice the original length, and details are furnished, firstly, to prepare the minds of the readers for some unexpected thing on account of which Ibráhīm is disconcerted; secondly, to emphasise his reluctance to obey the mysterious voices, till at last the prey, the deer, converses with him and makes a prey of him; and lastly to enhance the effect of the sudden change that has come over him. For these reasons, the

¹⁾ سمعت الشيخ أبا عبد الرحمن السلمي لصاحب طبقات الصوفية الموقوفة سنة ٤١٢ هـ رحمه الله عليه يقول سمعت أبا بكر محمد بن عبد الله بن شاذان يقول سمعت يوسف بن الحسين يقول حضرت مجلس ذي التوب يومًا وجاء سالم المغربي فقال له يا أبا الفض ما كان سبب توبتك

²⁾ See Persian Introduction pp. ٤٦-٤٧ for other instances of historical errors in the *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyá'*; the present writer has particularly brought in this comparison, as al-'Attār does not mention his sources, which when examined closely will perhaps establish the real worth of the biographies in the *Tadhkira* and add to the valuable contributions of its editor Dr. R. A. Nicholson and his collaborator Mīrzá Muḥammad, The *Asrār* and the *Risāla* serving as typical instances of comparison in connection with the *Ḥawāṣṣi*, emphasis is laid on this point, and a fuller analysis of other anecdotes with parallel references is given in the *Table of Contents* pt. I, ch. iii.

biographic information in the *Tadhkira*, however interesting it may be, is very untrustworthy. Most likely, the profuseness of material, the eclectic method, the welding of different versions, the attempt to impart a personal touch and to narrate the lives in a popular and interesting manner are responsible for its inconsistency and inaccuracy. On the other hand, al-'Awfi's sources were probably few; therefore, in this case also he concentrated his energy on the *Risāla* and tried to be as faithful to the original as possible.

(25) a. The *Sindbād-nāma*¹⁾.

Origin and
early versions
of the *Sindbād-
nāma*.

The Book of Sindbād or the tale of the king's son and the seven wazirs is referred to by al-'Awfi twice in the *Jawami'* in pt. III, ch. xxv, "On the Wiles of Women", once in the introduction to this chapter along with the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*²⁾ (D. 286a. III. xxv. Int. 1783)³⁾, and again in the conclusion along with the *Kalīla wa Dimna*⁴⁾ (B. f 243b = C. f 344a. III. xxv. 1789)⁵⁾ as one of the famous and popular works on the stories of female slyness. Authorities differ, as in the case of the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, as to the original home of this work, whether it was India or Persia. al-Mas'ūdī⁶⁾ and Ibnu'n-Nadīm⁷⁾ agree that it was originally shaped by the Indian sage Sindbād. Ethé and Nöldeke also hold that, from the intrinsic nature of these tales, they belong to an Indian rather than a Persian environment, as is evident from a perusal of this work; but at an earlier epoch they were translated into Pahlawī and then into Arabic and other languages. At any rate, a copy of the Pahlawī version existed in the time of the Sāmānids, and by the order of the Sāmānid Amīr Nūḥ II b. Maṣṣūr (reigned 366–87 A.H. = 976–97 A.D.) the Khwāja 'Amīd Abū'l-Fawāris Qanāwarzī translated it for the first time into modern Persian prose⁸⁾. An account of Qanāwarzī's version is given by Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. [Iḥsan] az-Zahīrī al-Kātib as-Samarqandī in connection with his own version of the *Sindbād-nāma* [Or. 255 Br. Mus.]⁹⁾ ff 14, who says that it was in a very simple and unadorned language. Most probably from this prose version, the poet Abū Bakr Zaynu'd-Dīn b. Ismā'īl al-Warrāq al-Azraqī (d. before 465 A.H. = 1072/3 A.D.) composed or intended to compose his *Mathnawī* in the middle of the fifth century of the *Hijra*.

¹⁾ See for its origin, history, versions, adaptations and bibliography *G. I. P.* II, pp. 258–61.

²⁾ See Notice No. (25) b.

³⁾ «و اگرچه درین کتابها تألیف کرده اند چون سندباد و بختیارنامه و غیر آن اما درین مجموع حکایتی چند از مکر ایشان
تقریر خواهد افتاد» (= C. f 340b)

⁴⁾ See for its origin, history, versions and bibliography *G. I. P.* II, pp. 326–9, also Brockelmann's article in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. II, pp. 694–8.

⁵⁾ «و حکایت مکرهای زبان بسیارست و لطافت طرهای ایشان بی شمار و کتاب سندباد که از مشاهیر کتب است [و] ثامت [آن] مشتمل بر مکرهای زبان و در چند کتب دیگر چون کله و دمنه و غیر آن [حکایتهای نادر و غریب] درین باب مسطورست و ایراد آن بسبب شهرت در توقف افتاد و بدین قدر اختصار نمودم»

⁶⁾ *M. M. Dh.* Vol. I, p. 162.

⁷⁾ *Fihrist*, pp. 304–5.

⁸⁾ *Chahār Magāla*, (Pers. Text.), Mīrzā Muḥammad's comment, pp. 174–8.

⁹⁾ See Rieu's description, Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II, p. 748.

Unfortunately, like the prose version of Qanāwarzī, this metrical version has not come down to us; the only data for this *Mathnawī* are found in one of the panegyrics of al-Azraqī written in honour of his patron-prince, Abu'l-Fawāris Ṭughanshah b. Alp Arslān the Saljūq, in which the poet alludes to his own skill as manifested in the "Counsels of Sindbād"¹⁾. Another unique, but rather poor poetical version (a *Mathnawī*)²⁾ of the *Sindbād-nāma* of unknown authorship composed as late as 776 A. H. = 1374/5 A. D. is preserved in the India Office Library [No. 3214]³⁾, which according to Ethé closely agrees with the Greek *Sintipas*⁴⁾ and the prose version of az-Zahīrī, and has been fully described by F. Falconer⁵⁾.

Discussion on the two prose versions by az-Zahīrī and ad-Daqa'iqī.

As regards the later prose versions of the *Sindbād-nāma*, it is really difficult to decide which actual version was utilised by al-'Awfī in the *Ḥawāṣi*⁶⁾; but in this connection, it seems proper to discuss the question of the existence of two different prose versions, about which the learned critic Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān of Qazwīn⁷⁾ has raised certain objections. After combining two different statements of al-'Awfī regarding this work, one in the biography of the poet [Bahā'u'd-Dīn] az-Zahīrī⁸⁾ and the other in that of the poet Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ad-Daqa'iqī⁹⁾ al-Marwazī, Mīrzā Muḥammad supposes them to be contemporaries and rejects the simultaneous composition of two prose versions of the same work. In fact, as remarked above (pp. 40-1), az-Zahīrī, the author of the *Aradhu'r-Riyāsa*¹⁰⁾ and the editor of the *Sindbād-nāma*, flourished at an earlier epoch than ad-Daqa'iqī, and these two poets composed two different versions under two different rulers of the same Īlak Khān dynasty of Samarqand. On the testimony of the extant version of az-Zahīrī [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 6a this work was dedicated to Ruknu'd-Dīn Qutluḡh Balkā Abu'l-Muẓaffar Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān b. Qilij Qarā Khān¹¹⁾ (identified by Prof. Barthold as Mas'ūd b. 'Alī, who reigned 558-74 A. H. = 1163-78/9 A. D., and not Jalālu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn, a contemporary of al-'Awfī, the last but one ruler of this dynasty, as asserted by Mīrzā Muḥammad) who had returned after a long absence to his hereditary dominions (f 10a)¹²⁾, and who after vanquishing his foes in Tūrān in the year fifty-six i.e. 556 A. H. = 1160/1 A. D. had restored peace and the reign of justice in his kingdom. The date and this event point to its having been composed earlier than is supposed by Mīrzā Muḥammad. A little later, ad-Daqa'iqī also wrote a prose version of the *Sindbād-nāma*, as H. Khalfā¹³⁾ not only

1) *Diwān-i Asraqī* [Or. 3713 Br. Mus.] f 25b also *Lubāb*, pt. I, p. 318 n.:

شهرنارا بک اندر مدحت فرمان تو * گر تواند کرد بیاد ز معنی ساحری
هر که بیند شهرنارا پدهای سندیاد * بیک داد کاندرو دشوار باشد شاعری
من معانیهای او را ناور دانش کم * گر کد بخت تو شاما خاطر را باوری

2) Ethé, Cat. Pers. Mss. Ind. Off. col. 714, No. 1236.

3) Loiseleur des Longchamps, *Essai sur les fables indiennes*, Paris, 1838, pp. 93-137.

4) *Asiatic Journal*, (1841) Vols. XXXV, p. 169 sq., and XXXVI, p. 4 sq. and 99 sq.

5) *Lubāb*, Pt. I, pp. 318-9.

6) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 91.

7) *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 212.

8) See above, Notice No. (6).

9) Two coins dated 558 A. H., issued by this monarch are known and are described by Dorn in the *Mélanges Asiatiques*, (St. Petersburg) 1881, Tome VIII, p. 734.

10) « و حصان ملک و دولت و متعلبان محله توران در تهور سنه ست و [خ]مین بود ز مصاف »

11) *H. Khal.* Vol. III, p. 620, No. 7259.

distinguishes it from other versions but gives its beginning line, which owing to the loss of the first folio of az-Zahīrī's version cannot be compared, but is certainly an evidence of the existence of this version. This was composed during the reign of Jalālu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn, also entitled Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān, who apparently succeeded the aforesaid Ruknu'd-Dīn. Thus there is a difference of about 40 years between the composition of the former and the latter, and besides this a comparison of the apparently common anecdotes in the *Fawāmi'* and az-Zahīrī's version, which follows, shows that al-'Awfī must have used a version other than az-Zahīrī's. From these arguments it is evident that two separate prose versions existed in the time of al-'Awfī: the former being rare, as he himself says in the *Lubāb*, he might have utilised ad-Daqa'iq's.

Comparison
of the common
anecdotes in
az-Zahīrī's ver-
sion and the
Fawāmi'.

On a close comparison of the anecdotes in the *Fawāmi'* pt. III, chs. xxiv-v, "On Unchaste and Impious Women", and "On the Wiles of Women" with the version of Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad az-Zahīrī, it is noticeable that, although the outlines of some of these stories are somewhat identical, yet they differ in essential details. For instance, an account of a person who was in the habit of studying the wiles of women and collecting works on this subject is common to both (D. f 288b. III. xxv. 1787), cf. [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 101b-f 103a; and so is another story, mentioned in a different chapter, concerning the hūdūd or hoopoe, that could not resist his destiny of falling a prey to a net, in spite of having noticed it (D. f 55a. IV. xiii. 1922), cf. [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 129a-f 130a. At no point do we find direct or indirect indebtedness to this version. az-Zahīrī's version¹⁾ of these stories is highly decorated with the graces of language, and supplemented with Arabic and Persian verses, none of which are found in the anecdotes of the *Fawāmi'*. This contrast is especially strengthened when we compare other anecdotes of a similar nature taken from the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*. In any case, the version in al-'Awfī's hand was different from az-Zahīrī's; it might be that of ad-Daqa'iq or an earlier one.

(25) b. The *Bakhtiyār-nāma*²⁾.

Account, ori-
gin, and ver-
sions of the
*Bakhtiyār-
nāma*.

This work, also known as the Story of the Prince Bakhtiyār and the Ten Wazīrs, which is apparently a purely Muslim imitation of the originally Indian Story of Sindbād or the Seven Wazīrs, referred to once by al-'Awfī³⁾, forms one of the direct sources of the *Fawāmi'*; but it is difficult to decide which actual version was utilised by him.

¹⁾ al-'Awfī writes about it in the following manner, *Lubāb*, Pt. I, p. 91: «و سندهاد را بجلت عارت تربیتی دادست و آن عروس زیبا را مشاطه فریخت او بخونین دستی بر آورده» and az-Zahīrī himself acknowledges this fact in his preface in connection with Qanāwarzī's version which he adorned [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] (ff 14) «فاما عبارش (14) عظیم نازک بود و از ترس و تحلی عاری و با آنکه دروی محال را نسخه بحال نبود و وسعت و تقوی و صنعت هیچ مشاطه آن عروس زیبا را نیازاسته بود و در میدان فصاحت مرکب عبارت نراند و این کم و حکم و ابکار و عذاری را حله نساخته بود و حلیه نپرداخته و نزدیک بود که از صحائف اتمام مدروس گردد و از حواسی روزگار پیکار محو شود اکنون بقرا دولت قاهره احیاء پذیرفت و از سر طراوت گرفت و بهازگی رونق یافت»

²⁾ See for the origin, history, versions, adaptations and bibliography of this work, Ethé in the *G.I.P.* II, pp. 323-5; J. Horowitz in the *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 602-3.

³⁾ See above, Notice No. (25) a. p. 72 n. 3.

There is one short reference in the biography of the aforesaid Daqá'iqí¹⁾ to a version prepared by him along with that of the *Sindbad-náma*; unfortunately neither of these has come down to us. It is possible that al-'Awfí might have used ad-Daqá'iqí's or any other earlier prose version of the *Bakhtiyár-náma*; since from the allusion to it, it appears that works of this nature were rather popular in those days. The oldest extant version of this story, according to Prof. Nöldeke's²⁾ detailed researches, is in Persian prose, represented by the Leyden Codex [No. 593]³⁾, which, however, goes back to a still much earlier Persian original, as yet considered to be lost. This version was prepared by an unmentioned writer⁴⁾ at the court of a hitherto unidentified prince of Samarqand named Táju'd-Dín Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Karím some time about 600 A.H. = 1204 A.D.. al-'Awfí, being in touch with the court of Samarqand at this period, as shown above (pp. 7-8), must have known of the existence of this work, but it cannot be ascertained after a comparison of the simple and direct style of these borrowed anecdotes with that of the extracts given by Prof. Nöldeke that he ever utilised it; on the contrary, the evidence points to the utilisation of a still much older text. On the older Persian originals are apparently based the different Arabic versions⁵⁾; one of them is also found in the *Alfu Layla*⁶⁾ and the Uigur⁷⁾ text contained in [Huntingdon 598 Bodl.], dated 1435 A.D.. To a comparatively later period belongs the shorter version contained in [Ind. Off. 3053] f 17a-f 63a and [Ouseley 389 Bodl.] which also forms one of the bases of the Ouseley-Kazimirski⁸⁾ Paris lithographed edition of the *Bakhtiyár-náma*. This version, though differing in the arrangement of the chapters and in the detailed exposition of the contents, and written in a very clear and simple style as contrasted with the older ones, is on the whole in agreement with its contents. Thus, just as the simplicity of style in the anecdotes borrowed by al-'Awfí is in favour of their being based on a still much older Persian original, so also the resemblance between al-'Awfí's version and the Ouseley-Kazimirski text strengthens the belief that the latter, though it took its final shape in India, still has its origin in the much older originals on which the Leyden Codex was based.

al-'Awfí's
method of uti-
lising the *Bakhtiyár-náma*.

Out of the ten *dástáns*, which the prince Bakhtiyár relates successively, in self-defence, in order to delay his execution and defeat the evil counsels of the ten wazírs, and which are addressed to the king who in the end is proved to be his real father

1) *Lubab*, Pt. I, p. 212: «وېختيار نامه و سندباد را لاس عارت پوشاين است»

2) ZDMG. Band XLV, pp. 97-143.

3) Unfortunately the present writer could not consult this Ms.

4) The text is marred, but the present writer ventures to suggest that on p. 108 of Nöldeke's article (*op. cit.*) the title of the work *امن مجموع را كعبة السراج لخصه القاج نام نهاده شد* is doubly indicative: the first part, *as-Siráj* probably stands for Siráju'd-Dín as the title of the author, just as the latter, *at-Táj* is evidently an honorific contracted title of his patron Táju'd-Dín.

5) See Basset, *Contes arabes: Histoire des dix Vezirs*, Paris 1883; P. A. Šalḥani, *Contes arabes*, Beyrout 1890.

6) Habicht's edition of *1001 Nacht* containing the Arabic text, (Band VI, pp. 191-343) identified in 1807 by G. Knös in the Gottingen edition: *Historia decem Vezirorum*.

7) A. Jaubert, Notice et Extrait de la Version Turque du Bakhtiyár-naméh etc. in the *Journal Asiatique* X, (1827) pp. 146-67.

8) Sir W. Ouseley published a text with its English translation in 1801, which was also re-edited after correction, by A. Biberstein-Kazimirski in 1839 A.D.; references to it are given in this notice.

and resigns in his favour, four are found in the *Ḥawāmī* under different chapters in a very abridged form. The plot of these stories is almost the same, and some of the minor details also correspond in both cases; but the mould, resetting, language and style are al-'Awfī's own. The elaborate thread of these stories, connected with the personality of Bakhtiyār, and the rambling details which run to an enormous length in the original are all suppressed; and the stories in the *Ḥawāmī* stand as detached units representing single topics, befitting peculiarly the chapter-headings of the *Ḥawāmī*, which are almost identical with the original scheme of the *dāstāns*. Thus in pt. II, ch. xiii, "On the Excellence of Patience" the *dāstān* of Abū Šābir (ch. iv); in pt. III, ch. iii, "On the Contemptibility of Rancour and Envy", the *dāstān* of Abū Tammām (ch. ix); and in pt. III, ch. xx, "On the Contemptibility of Hastiness and the Advantages of Slowness", the two *dāstāns* of the jewel-merchant and his calamitous haste (ch. viii) and of the hasty prince of Ḥalab (ch. iii) are suitably incorporated. The following are the parallel references to the Paris litho. 1839 A. D.:

- (1) The calamities which befell Abū Šābir, his exemplary patience, his installation as the ruler of his native place, and his vengeance, (D. f 143b. II. xiii. 1400) cf. pp. 45, 47-55.
- (2) The conspiracy of the four old wazīrs of the ruler of Ālān (?) against the king's new favourite Abū Tammām, and the destruction of the latter, which ultimately recoiled on the wazīrs, (D. f 198a. III. ii. 1558) cf. pp. 107, 110-117.
- (3) The life-story of Rūzbih and Bihruz, the two sons of the hasty jewel-merchant, (D. f 264a. III. xx. 1730) cf. pp. 93-107.
- (4) The calamitous haste of the prince of Ḥalab in his marriage with the daughter of the king of Egypt, (D. f 265b. III. xx. 1731) cf. pp. 33-45.

(26). The *Siyāsat-nāma*¹⁾.

Relation of
the *Ḥawāmī*^c
to the *Siyāsat-
nāma*.

Although this work of the Niẓāmu'l-Mulk²⁾ is not mentioned in the *Ḥawāmī* by this or by its other title of *Siyāru'l-Mulūk*³⁾, yet the anecdotes in it offer a unique parallel to those in the various chapters of the *Ḥawāmī* dealing with justice, administration, punitive system, political art and good and bad traits of the various rulers; thus nearly three-fourths of the historical or quasi-historical illustrations in the *Siyāsat-nāma* are found in one form or another in the *Ḥawāmī*. It appears that al-'Awfī, perceiving the design and character of the work, incorporated it and adapted the anecdotes as best suited his own purpose of illustrating his chapter-headings, regardless of the order, style, language and aim of the author of the original. There being no attempt at a systematic exposition of politics or events, and since neither the particular suggestions relating to the peculiar circumstances of the times nor the

¹⁾ See for critical accounts of this work Ethé in *G. I. P.* II, pp. 347-8, Noldeke in *ZDMG*. XLVI (1892) pp. 761-8, Browne in *Lit. Hist. Pers.* II, pp. 212-7; references to Persian Text (= *N. S. N.*), French Translation (= *T. S. N.*), and *Supplément* (= *S. S. N.*) by C. Schefer, Paris, 1891, 1893, 1897 resp.

²⁾ See various notices of him in *S. S. N.* and *Zubdatu'n-Nuṣṣa wa Nuḥdatu'l-'Uṣṣa* ed. M. Th. Houtsma (1889), pp. 55-9 and *Kāmil* (index), Vol. X, pp. 137-42.

³⁾ *H. T. G.* (fasc.) p. 8; Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Tabaristān* (Trans. Prof. Browne) p. 93.

general observations of the author in each section could be easily moulded into a story-form, al-'Awfi restricted his attention to the anecdotes alone, which the author of the original collected indiscriminately ¹⁾ and probably later the editor either arranged or supplemented from works of the nature of "Counsels to the kings" ²⁾, referred to above in Notice No. (2) b, which were the traditional stock ³⁾ for such compilations in those days. Such allied sources being known to al-'Awfi and utilised invariably by him, we find therefore, even in some of the anecdotes enumerated below, an independent version, and in others a modified reproduction; thus similarity and variation of the versions of these common anecdotes are a double test for both the accuracy and sources of the *Siyasat-nama* and the *Fawámi*.

Importance
of the *Siyasat-
nama*.

This work, usually known as a treatise on the "Art of Government" as its title ⁴⁾ also indicates, is not so much a handbook of politics as a memorandum ⁵⁾ submitted to a prince and advice given for a proper exercise of royal powers and efficient execution of the functions of other officials of a state, in which the ruler Malikshah Saljúqi (reigned 465-85 A.H. = 1072-92 A.D.) and the highest responsible official, ¹⁵ the great Wazir Abú 'Alí Ḥasan b. 'Alí the Nizámu'l-Mulk of Tús (b. 408 A.H. = 1018 A.D. killed 485 A.H. = 1092 A.D.) felt the necessity of reforming the abuses and disorders that had crept into the government, and the corruption which threatened to ruin every other department of public administration. The importance of such a work can be fully realised when we consider the explicit occasion of the original ²⁰ draft ⁶⁾, the headings of the sections ⁷⁾, the general plan of the work, the accredited acceptance of it by Maliksháh, the zeal and earnestness with which the author exposes the existing evils and suggests remedies, his painful pre-occupation with the growth of the heretical sects as an imminent danger to Islám and the state ⁸⁾, his personal observations and illustrations, though somewhat distorted, and the exposition of the ²⁵ whole scheme as by an author of the opposite party. But we cannot ignore other circumstantial facts and internal evidence when we seek to investigate the actual portion written by the Nizámu'l-Mulk and estimate the present *Siyasat-nama*, usually regarded as the finished product of the great Wazir's pen.

Some con-
siderations
about its pre-
sent version.

Apart from the strange absence of any contemporary or later authentic notice of ³⁰ this work in histories like the *Rahatu's-Sudur* of ar-Ráwandí, the *Zubdatu'n-Nuṣra wa Nukhbatu'l-'Uṣra* (compiled in 579 A.H. = 1183 A.D.) of 'Imádu'd-Dín al-Kátib al-Iṣfahání, the *Kámil* of Ibnu'l-Athir and the *Tajdribu's-Salaf* of Hindúsháh al-Kirání,

¹⁾ *N. S. N.* p. 8: «آنج به را مرز آمد از شنيك و داسه و خوات ناد كرده شود» and *N. S. N.* p. 204: «و يحيى استان بتمام در تجارب الامم و تاريخ اصناف و اخبار خلای آكل عباس ييآمد»

²⁾ Several anecdotes as pointed out by Schefer in his footnotes to *S. S. N.* are also found in the *Nasihat-i-Mulúk* of al-Ghazálí, a work written at least 13 years after the Nizámu'l-Mulk's death.

³⁾ al-Tha'libí also wrote a book entitled *Siratu'l-Mulúk*, see *H. Khal.* Vol. III, p. 641, No. 7343 and Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, p. 286, No. 19, preserved in Gotha [No. 1886]; also above Notice No. (16) [s. v. *Siyar-i'l-Mulúk*].

⁴⁾ Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 210: «در اين كتاب سیر آورد» p. 165: «این است كتاب سياست كه مشه آمد»

⁵⁾ See *N. S. N.* pp. 5-8, 163-6, 210-1.

⁶⁾ *N. S. N.* Preface pp. 1-2.

⁷⁾ *N. S. N.* pp. 3-5.

⁸⁾ Six sections (xli, xliii-xlvii, pp. 138-56, 164-205) are especially devoted to this purpose.

the data, however incorrect, given by H. Khalfa¹⁾ appear to have a direct bearing on the earliest possible period of its composition²⁾ (469 A.H.), on the number of sections (30) contained in the original draft, and on its recasting by a later and hitherto unidentified author al-Yamanī. Further, the statement about the addition³⁾ of 11 sections to the already existing 39, the final revision by the author and the handing over of the autograph for a fair copy on the eve of his fateful journey to Baghdād (485 A.H. = 1092 A.D.), the scanty time at the disposal of the author (484-5 A.H.) in which the work is said to have been composed, the delay of about 13 years caused by the unsettled affairs after the death of the Wazīr and the King, in the final publication and dedication to Malikshāh II's son Ghiyāth u'd-Dīn Muḥammad in 498 A.H. = 1105 A.D., who had just ascended the Saljūq throne, and the fact that our information⁴⁾ about its composition and transcription is entirely based on and connected with the old and obscure poet and transcriber of the Royal-Library of the Saljūqs, Muḥammad Maghribī⁵⁾ — all this has to be considered along with the evidence in the work itself. The similarity between the editor's supplementary note to the list of the section-headings (p. 5) and the concluding remarks of the author (p. 210), the confusion in the arrangement of sections and subject-matter in the latter part⁶⁾ of the book, the occasionally faulty style, the rather betraying insertions of the editor⁷⁾, the doubtful character⁸⁾ and sources⁹⁾ of

¹⁾ Vol. III, p. 638-9. No. 7318: «سرالمولک فارسی لنظام الملك حسن الوزر بن علی الطوسی المنوفی سنة [٤٨٥] ألفه فی وزارتہ سنة ٤٦٩ للمکتاب الساجوقی و جملة علی ثلاثین فصلا ثم جملة البقی (?) خمسة عشر و وضع کل فصل موضعه لیکن علی خلاف وضع المؤلف»

²⁾ The date 469 A.H. indicates that four years had elapsed after the succession of Malikshāh.

³⁾ It is hardly possible to know the additional sections, excepting that in xliii (p. 164) occurs: «بنک خراست که فعلی چند در معنی خروج خارجیان یاد کند تا جهانیان بدانند که بنک را درین دولت چه شقت بوده است و بر مملکت سلجوق چه هوا و مهت دارد خاصه بر خداوند عالم خلد الله ملکه» آلم which does not expressly imply addition or revision, but a mere continuation of the work. If 39 sections were written before, how could this insertion be reconciled therewith?

⁴⁾ The Preface of Muḥammad Maghribī to the work (*N. S. N.* pp. 1-2.)

⁵⁾ *N. S. N.* p. 213:

این بنک قدیمی و عطا ط و مدح گوی * دارد حقوق خدمت می ساله بیشتر
شعرش رسد بشعری و کارش رسد نظام * گر شه بسوی بنک بر حمت کند نظر

⁶⁾ The original arrangement of section xlii (pp. 156-64) "On the veiled inmates" etc. and of the last three sections xlviii-1 (pp. 205-9) seems to be out of place. The subject-matter contained in the sections on heretics is, apart from historical accuracy, very disjointed; Mazdak (xlv) is considered as the first heresiarch in the world, then directly follows the account of Sinbād the Gabr (xlv), and then that of the Carmathians, Bāḡinīs, and other sects in various places (xlii-xlvii).

The numeration of the sections as given in the present text, as well as in the translation, does not correspond with the original list given on pp. 3-5. Not only is section xl repeated on pp. 125, 131, but also xlv on pp. 138, 166; according to the list the intervening untitled *faṣl* on p. 130 should not occur and xl (pp. 131-8) "on titles" should immediately follow xl on p. 125, and xlv on p. 138 should bear the numeration xli.

⁷⁾ ZDMG. *loc. cit.* p. 762; *N. S. N.*, pp. 136-7; p. 137, l. 9; p. 151, l. 1; p. 204, ll. 5-13.

⁸⁾ E.g. Buzurjmīr is said to have survived the downfall of the Sāsānids, (*N. S. N.* p. 159); Bahrām Chūbīn is reported as the Wazīr and dear friend of king Parwīz, who is also made the king of Rūm, (*N. S. N.* p. 67); Ja'far-i-Barmakī is made to appear at the court of the Caliph Sulaymān b. 'Abdu'l-Malik the Umayyad, (*N. S. N.* p. 151); Ya'qūb b. Layth is represented as threatening to bring the Fāṭimid rival of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mu'tamid (who reigned from 870 until 892 A.D.) from Mahdiyya, which was not founded until 910 A.D. (*N. S. N.* p. 12). Several other errors are pointed out by Nöldeke (ZDMG. *loc. cit.* pp. 766-7).

⁹⁾ On p. 204 the *Tajārīdu'l-Umam* is referred to for other details; but the account of the Carmathians

the anecdotes, and the author's downright denunciations of the Báṭinís and other heretical sects set us thinking whether we should rely on all the information contained in the *Siyásat-náma*. Muḥammad Maghribí has a larger share than is generally supposed in augmenting the bulk of the book, especially in the anecdotal illustrations, and the present arrangement of the work is probably his rather than the Wazīr's. 5

Comparison
of common
anecdotes.

A comparative analysis of the common anecdotes, some of which are borrowed from this and other allied sources yields the following results¹⁾:

- (1) The story of the scrupulous care of the deaf king of Chín in ordering that red clothes should be worn by the plaintiffs only, as told by a holy person before the Caliph al-Manṣúr, (A. f 124b. I. vi. 392). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 10, where the anecdote is 10 given in quite a different setting and version.
- (2) 'Amr b. Layth the Ṣaffárid tempts Ismá'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid with the bequeathed treasures of his brother Ya'qúb before being sent as a prisoner to the Caliph al-Mu'tamid; but Ismá'íl refuses them on the ground that they were obtained 15 by extortion, and that if he accepts them, the onus of responsibility will fall on him on the Day of Reckoning, (A. f 123a. I. vi. 383)¹⁾ (D. f 153b. II. xvi. 1434). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 16-17.
- (3) Ismá'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid's scruples about justice and his habit of staying out in severe winter and snow, alone on horseback, in order to be easily accessible 20 to the poor and the oppressed. In one such outing, he finds one of his camels grazing in the field of a peasant, upon which he readily pays damages to him for this trespass, (A. f 135a. I. vii. 442) Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 17, where the former part of the anecdote corresponds, but the latter part which is the actual point of illustration is omitted; from this it appears that either the story was left incomplete in *N. S. N.* or al-'Awfí borrowed it from another independent source. 25
- (4) The year of severe drought and famine in Iṣṭakhr, and the Kisrá Bahrám's magnanimity and relief to the distressed, whereby peace and plenty are restored to the kingdom, (A. f 130b. I. vii. 420). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 18, where the story is told in brief and the ruler is mentioned as Qubád, and the period of famine as seven 30 years; here again the sources appear identical, but the versions differ.
- (5) The misrule of Rást-rawish, the dishonest Wazīr of Bahrám Gúr, and the painful awakening of the king from his gaiety at the attack of the Khán of Turkistán, and the lesson drawn by him from the act of the shepherd who hanged his dog for having betrayed his master, (A. f 119a. I. vi. 364); (D. f 251a. III. xvi. 1704), cf.

given in *N. S. N.* (pp. 183-7) hardly resembles the one given in the *Tajdribu'l-U'mam* of Miskawayh (see Gibb facs. VII, 5, pp. 30-32).

¹⁾ For the sake of a systematic study the order of the *Siyásat-náma* is retained, but the purport of the story according to the version of the *Jawámi'* is given, and points of similarity and divergence are briefly noted.

²⁾ Cf. also *T. S. N.* pp. 20-1, ZDMG. (*loc. cit.* p. 766-7); *Sketches from Eastern History* (pp. 201-3). In the *Siyásat-náma*, apart from real historical information, even the Eastern tradition about Ya'qúb and 'Amr, the Ṣaffárids, is erroneously represented. In the *Jawámi'*, as pointed out in Notice No. (11) on the *Ṭa'riḫ-i-Khurásán* (see above pp. 44-7), various other authentic traditions regarding the Ṣaffárids are preserved. This story of the treasures of 'Amr is probably drawn from the *Siyásat-náma* and has found its way through it into many other works.

- N. S. N.* pp. 19–22. This anecdote is told twice in the *Jawāmi'*; on one occasion it is ascribed to Bahrām Gūr as in *N. S. N.* and here, while in the second version, which makes no reference to the former statement, Rást-rawish is made the Wazír of Gushtásp. In *N. S. N.* this story is told in a very elaborate form along with other stories of the machinations of Rást-rawish.
- (6) An old woman's complaint to Núshírwán against the tyrannical acquisition of her land by the governor of Ádharbáyján for erecting his own palace and Nushírwán's exemplary punishment, (A. f 119b. I. vi. 365). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 28–35, where the story covers nearly 13 pages and is full of rambling details; probably al-'Awfī has abridged it from *N. S. N.* as a few expressions are similar.
- (7) Nushírwán's redress-bell and the justified complaint of the old ass, (A f 124a. I. vi. 390). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 35–7, where this device for public redress was adopted after the offence of the governor of Ádharbáyján; whereas in the *Jawāmi'* it is adopted in consequence of Nushírwán's consultation with his Wazír about the shortness of the life of a hawk owing to its cruelty and the best method of prolonging life by enabling the victims of oppression to obtain justice quickly and easily.
- (8) The time-honoured Persian custom of open-court on Nawrúz and Mihrgán adopted by 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir Dhu'l-Yamínayn, (A. f 129a. I. vii. 412). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 39–40, where the origin of this institution is traced. A similar account is given in the *Naṣīhatu'l-Mulúk* of al-Ghazálī (*T. S. N.* p. 59).
- (9) 'Umára b. Ḥamza (d. 199 A. H. = 814/5 A. D.) prefers to renounce his ownership of an estate claimed by his opponent rather than give up the exalted position in which he had been installed by the Caliph al-Manṣúr, (D. f 118b. II. v. 1295). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 40, where the story is placed in the court of the Caliph al-Wáthiq, which as pointed out by Schefer is wrong (*T. S. N.* p. 60). This anecdote is also found in the *Naṣīhatu'l-Mulúk* and corresponds very closely with the version given in the *Jawāmi'*, where another instance of the high-mindedness of 'Umára is also added to the above one.
- (10) The story of the pious tailor, the significance of his prayer-call at an unusual hour and the ready submission of one of the tyrannical generals of the Caliph al-Mu'tadhid's Turkish guards to the demand of his creditor, a helpless merchant of Baghdád, at the immediate call of the tailor, (A. f 126a. I. vi. 399). Cf. *T. F. S.* pt. II, pp. 17–9; *N. S. N.* pp. 45–54. This anecdote is undoubtedly borrowed by al-'Awfī from the *Faraj* as the version and literal Persian rendering of the story indicate; but it is also found in *N. S. N.* where it is set in the Caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim, and is treated at greater length and differs from the version of *al-Faraj*.
- (11) The Sultan Maḥmúd gives strict orders to his son Maṣ'úd to arrest and exterminate the band of robbers belonging to the Kúch and Balúch¹), in the forest of

¹) Schefer (*loc. cit.*) has identified them with the قُتْنَس و بَلُوص, but the derivation of these words is uncertain, (*Y. M. B.* Vol. IV, pp. 147–51). There lived a wild tribe of Kurds in the mountains of Kirmán from the earliest days of Islám and even before that till the time of 'Adhudu'd-Dawla, and even later in the days of Quṭubu'd-Dín (reigned 651–5 A. H.) the Qará Khitáy ruler of Kirmán, who exterminated them (see *H. T. G.* (facs.) pp. 180, 399, 418, 530).

Khabí¹⁾ in Kirmán, which Mas'úd does by a surprise attack. (A. f 186a. I. viii. 732). The Sultan Mas'úd kills a band of robbers in Kirman by means of poisoned apples. (A. f 186b. I. xiii. 733), cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 58-65, *H. T. G.* p. 399. These two stories are given in the *Siyásat-náma* in a connected form with other details about Maḥmúd's request to Abu 'Alí b. Ilyás, and the success of his own efforts, assisted by his son's skill, in overcoming this band of robbers. The details are different and probably the sources also.

- (12) Parwíz's rebuke to Bahráṃ Chúbín for punishing a servant and his ironical suggestion to sheathe two swords in one case, (D. f 7b IV. ii. 1801) Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 67, where Parwíz is made the king of Rúm and Bahram Chubín his Wazír and a beloved friend, which, as pointed out by Schefer (*T. S. N.* p. 101) and Noldeke (*ZDMG. loc. cit.* p. 766), is unhistorical. The details about the present of 300 red-haired camels to Bahram Chúbín and the picking up of 2 swords out of 150 are entirely missing in the *Jawámi'*, and Bahram Chúbín is simply mentioned as one of the best warrior-athletes of Parwíz. 15
- (13) How 'Adhudu'd-Dawla the Daylamite, at the report of the dishonesty of the chief Qádhí, devised means to detect it, entrapped and disgraced the Qádhí, and made him disgorge to a belated claimant the two jugs of gold deposited in his charge, (A. f 122b. I. vi. 382). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 69-77, where the story is told at much greater length and details about the youth's adventures and the coaxing of the Qádhí are amplified. The story in its outline is the same in both, but al-Awfi's source is different as his version appears to be an independent and abridged translation from some other earlier work. 20
- (14) A similar complaint before the Caliph al-Mu'tadhid about the dishonesty of a Qádhí who tampered with a purse of 1000 *dinárs* deposited by a pilgrim, and how the Caliph tore his own turban and detected the secret of the Qádhí through an expert mender of clothes in the town, (A. f 122a. I. vi. 381). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 77-80, where the ruler is mentioned as the Sultan Maḥmúd and a few details are changed. Again, like the previous anecdote, this one is also drawn by both from similar sources independently and the stories are coloured according to individual tastes. The source being unknown, it cannot be said which version is more reliable. 30
- (15) A Háshimí excuses his son on account of his witty reply when questioned about his rowdiness while intoxicated, (A. f 207b. I. xvi. 901). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 118; the story is short in both and agrees very closely.
- (16) How Bárbad the musician saved the life of a condemned criminal by a witty reply to the king Parwíz, (A. f 203b. I. xvi. 855). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 118; where the story is related on the authority of [Ibn] Khurdádbih, and Báẓid (بازيد) instead of Bárbad (باربد) is mentioned (see *T. S. N.* p. 173 n. 3). 35
- (17) Núshírwán, pleased at the witty replies of an old man who was planting a nutmeg tree, rewards him amply, (D. f 200a. III. iii. 1561). Cf. *N. S. N.* p. 118-9, where 40

¹⁾ *T. S. N.* p. 89. Schefer identifies Dayr-i-Gachín mentioned in the *Siyásat-náma* with Dayru'l-jass, but according to A. it is حيمس without a point under the first letter; the description of this place is given fully in *Y. M. B.* Vol. II, p. 401 which corresponds with the one in the *Jawámi'*.

the story is similar though a few details differ; both appear to have been drawn from identical sources. Another version probably adopted from the above is related in the *Ḥawāṣī* in connection with the Caliph Hārūn and his rewards for the witty replies of an old man who described his age as four years only, and the reason for planting a nutmeg tree at such an advanced age. (A. f 206b. I. xvi. 887). 5

- (18) 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Khāl a courtier of the Sultan Maḥmūd falsely accuses a sage of Herāt of idolatry and drinking; the Sultan, after due deliberation, without having summoned the sage, interrogates 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān on oath, upon which he confesses his malicious motive of acquiring the palace of the sage, and thereby the Sultan is saved from punishing an innocent and holy person, (D. f 268a. III. xx. 1735). 10
Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 120-1, where from an allusion to 'Bikrek' and the Sultan *Shahid*, Schefer has identified the king as Alp Arslān, but 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Khāl as the maternal uncle of Alp Arslān is not yet known (cf. *T. S. N.* p. 177 n.) except through the *Siyāsat-nāma*, whereas in the *Ḥawāṣī* he is expressly mentioned as a courtier of the Sultan Maḥmūd. Most probably the version of the *Siyāsat-* 15
nāma is correct and al-'Awfī, although he borrowed the anecdote from here, did not examine closely the accuracy of his statement.
- (19) An account of the doings of the two public prosecutors appointed by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn who presented a striking contrast in their character, temper and reputation, (D. f 240a. III. xiii. 1682). (See above p. 48, The *Ta'rikh-i-Āl-i-'Abbās* is mentioned 20
as the source). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 122-5; no source is mentioned and the story is evidently taken from the above, as a reference to it occurs in *N. S. N.* p. 204. This is again an instance of a common source being utilised by both independently, as the rendering into Persian and arrangement under different headings from different points of view clearly indicate. 25
- (20) Zayd b. Aslam's account of a night patrol of the Caliph 'Umar, during which they heard the plaintive cry of a widow against the Caliph, as she was beguiling her sons to sleep by the pretence of cooking food for them, and the Caliph's speedy succour and humble supplication to her, (D. f 156a. II. xvi. 1440). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 128-9. The story agrees in both very closely, and there is another 30
similar story in the *Ḥawāṣī* reported by Suwayd b. 'Alqama in a different manner, (A. f 123a. I. vi. 386).
- (21) How a cruel governor of the time of the Sultan Maḥmūd attained his redemption in the next world by a single act of kindness he had shown to a dog suffering from scab, (D. f 124b. II. vii. 1320). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 129-30, where the governor's 35
name is mentioned as Rashīd the *Hājji*. There is no verbal resemblance between the texts of this story, whereas in the *Ḥawāṣī* it is given in a fuller form with minor details not found in the *Siyāsat-nāma* and is, probably, drawn from identical sources.
- (22) The Sultan Maḥmūd, jealous of the numerous titles bestowed by the Caliph (al- 40
Qādir bi'llah) on the Khān of Samarqand, contrives illegitimate means, procures a few of the mandates of the Caliph from the court of Samarqand and sends to the Caliph pointing out the Khān's insult in order to excite his wrath and extort titles for himself, (A. f 218b. I. xviii. 998). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 131-6, where this anecdote

is told at a much greater length and with minute details, not found in the *Ḥawāṣī*, about the secret mission of the wily women who obtained the mandate from the court of Samarqand, and in the end how the Caliph, in spite of his resentment, had to award Maḥmūd the title of *ʿAminu'l-Milla* in addition to the already bestowed *Yamīnu'd-Dawla*; but there are many similar expressions from which we can infer that al-ʿAwfī borrowed it from *N. S. N.*. There are two other anecdotes in the *Ḥawāṣī* (A. f 218b. l. xviii. 996-7) previous to this, in which persistent efforts of Maḥmūd to extort titles from the Caliph are mentioned. One of them relates the threat to the Caliph and the counter-stroke of the Caliph by the letter of *ʿĀl*, and the other, as to how the title of *Mawlay* (مولای) was changed into *Walī* (ولی) at the clever suggestion of Ḥasnak, the governor of Nishāpūr.

- (23) Alp Arslān the Saljūq ruler's prudence in suppressing the Bāṭinīs illustrated by his rebuke to Ārdim on appointing the Dih Khudāy of Āba, the Bāṭinī, as his personal secretary, (D. f 151b. II. xv. 1427) cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 139-41. This anecdote and the previous one (No. 18) about ʿAbdu'r-Raḥmān Khāl, which throw light on the policy and deliberate action of Alp Arslān, are typical of the *Siyāsat-nāma*. Besides others which are common to the *Ḥawāṣī* and *Siyāsat-nāma*, these two instances afford us concrete data for the direct indebtedness of al-ʿAwfī to the work of Nizāmu'l-Mulk. In *N. S. N.* the name of the Dih Khudāy is mentioned as Yahyá, and full details about Alp Arslān's precautions and the Nizāmu'l-Mulk's fears of the growing danger to the state, and Ārdim's experiment with pieces of cord one by one till at last a number of cords when spun into a rope could not be broken by him, are given; but apart from slight variation and abridgement the wording of the story in the *Ḥawāṣī* is almost identical.
- (24) The story of the first appearance of Barmak of Balkh at the court of ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwān, and how he was disgraced for carrying on him poison which affected the wondrous poison-detecting armlet of the Caliph; and a similar story related in this connection by Barmak about the wondrous silver fish of the ruler of Gurgān that possessed the peculiar property of attracting a ruby which was thrown into the sea, whereupon the Caliph acquired the fish from the ruler of Gurgān and took Barmak into his favour; but after ʿAbdu'l-Malik's death, his son Hishām conferred some estates on Barmak, for which reason he settled in ʿIrāq and Shām, (D. f 79a. IV. xx. 2003). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 151-5, also *Q. A. M.* pp. 218-9. In the *Siyāsat-nāma*, as Schefer (*T. N. S.* p. 224) and Nöldeke (*ZDMG. loc. cit.* p. 766) have pointed out, the author curiously enough makes "Jaʿfar b Barmak" (assassinated 187 A. H. = 803 A. D.) a contemporary of the Caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik (reigned 96-9 A. H. = 715-7 A. D.); the same anachronism is committed by Zakariyyá Qazwīnī, who without verifying it has entirely reproduced the same story; but al-ʿAwfī, whatever the real circumstances of the first appearance of Barmak may be, has set the story in the court of the Caliph ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwān (reigned 65-86 A. H. = 685-705 A. D.) and has drawn this story from some other earlier source, which in its wording and contents differs materially from that given by the Nizāmu'l-Mulk.

- (25) The unlawful passion of Sūdāba for her step-son Siyāwush, her failure and revenge and Kay-Kā'ūs's wrath against her, (*A.* f 55b. I. iv. 138), cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 157-8. This story is told at length in the *Ḥawāṣṣ* and is borrowed from the *Ghurār* pp. 168-212; whereas in *N. S. N.* it is very short and differs in its form considerably. This is an instance of an account which is entirely independent of *N. S. N.* 5
- (26) An Israelite sage wastes the three chances of effective prayer given to him by the Lord by consulting and carrying out the wishes of his foolish wife, (*D.* f 283b. III. xxiv. 1780). Cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 160-2, where the story is told in connection with the wives of the Prophet, 'Ā'isha and Ḥafṣa, and is designated the story of Yūsuf and Kirsif. In the *Ḥawāṣṣ* it is told in a similar chapter, but in connection 10 with the *Qur'ānic* verse (vii, 174).
- (27) A detailed account of Mazdak: his early appearance in the reign of Qubād, his contrivance to make the fire speak and Qubād's acceptance and public proclamation of his communistic doctrines, Nūshīrwān's protest and consultation with the Múbād of Fārs to dissuade his father, the encounter of the Múbād of Fārs 15 with Mazdak, the exposure of the latter's secret and dark designs against Qubād, Qubād and Nūshīrwān's effort to overcome Mazdak, the grand feast and the skilful extermination of the Mazdakites, and the accession of Nūshīrwān to the throne, (*D.* f 220b. III. viii. 1623), cf. *N. S. N.* pp. 166-81. The whole account agrees entirely and even the expressions are similar; but al-'Awfī does not call Mazdak as 20 in *N. S. N.* the first heresiarch in the world, and has recounted in this chapter, previous to this account, the anecdotes of Zoroaster and Manes, the latter being entirely based on the *Āthār u'l-Bāqīya* (pp. 207-9), whereas in *N. S. N.* (pp. 166, 204) a *Ta'rikh-i-Isfahān*¹⁾ is referred to for further details. The account of Mazdak being marred by a big lacuna in the text of the *Āthār*, we cannot 25 actually determine the source of the anecdote in the *Ḥawāṣṣ*; but the later accounts of Māh-āfarīd and al-Muqanna' are similar to those given in the *Āthār*²⁾. The accounts of al-Muqanna' and Bābak al-Khurramī given in *N. S. N.* differ entirely from the versions in the *Ḥawāṣṣ*; the latter are more reliable than those in *N. S. N.*

30

(27). The *Kitābu'sh-Shabābi-wa'sh-Shayb*.

The *Shabābi wa'sh-Shayb* as a direct source of the *Ḥawāṣṣ*.

This work of Abū 'Abdī'llah Muḥammad b. 'Imrān b. Mūsá b. Sa'īd b. 'Abdī'llah, one of the great Mu'tazilite writers, generally known by his patronymic and *nisba* as al-Marzubānī, who lived between 296 or 297-378 or 384 A. H. = 908/9 or 910-988/9 or 994 A. D., like most of his other writings, which are now lost and very little known beyond

¹⁾ Identification of this work is difficult; probably the Arabic original of Mufaddhal b. Sa'īd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Māfarukhī entitled the *Risālatu Maḥāsini i-Isfahān* composed in 421 A. H. = 1030 A. D. is meant, of which an enlarged Persian version by Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abū'r-Riḥā al-Ḥusaynī al-'Alawī made in 729 or 730 A. H. = 1329/30 A. D. has come down to us. Two Mss. of the latter are preserved, one by the Royal Asiatic Society [No. 180] described fully by Prof. Browne in *JRAS.* (1901) pp. 411-46; the other, which is in the Schefer collection (Cat. No. 1573), is identified by M. E. Blochet in *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome I, p. 308, No. 502.

²⁾ See above, Notice No. (1) a, and below, the *Table of Contents* Pt. III, ch. viii, for parallel references.

scrappy accounts in various biographical and bibliographical works¹⁾, forms one of the direct sources of al-'Awfī, as he emphasises its importance and directs the attention of his patron-wazīr towards his own special endeavour and erudition in utilising such works in his compilation²⁾. Fortunately, a small portion of this work is preserved for us in the *Jawāmi'*, in the chapter "On the Account of Longevity in Animals":³⁾ (D. ff 61b-64b. IV. xv. 1947-61), from which we can partly judge the nature of its contents.

A short account of its author, al-Marzubānī.

A contemporary and reliable account of al-Marzubānī is given by Ibnu'n-Nadīm who survived him and speaks of him as the last of the proficient and veritable authors amongst the "Akhhāriyyūn" whom he had seen, and enumerates about fifty of his 10 works on different subjects, among which the *Shabāb wa'sh-Shayb* is said to contain nearly 300 folios. Then as-Sam'ānī, giving an account of his accomplishments in literature and Tradition, with a list of those from whom he acquired the latter, recounts the extreme regard of 'Adhūd-d-Dawla for him, and the immense provision which al-Marzubānī had at his house for learned men who used to lodge with him, and his habit 15 of drinking date-wine and writing enormously, and lastly remarks about the Mu'tazilite tendencies in his works. Then Ibn Khallikān adds that he was the first to collect the *Dīwān* of the Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, a fact which, in spite of his strong Shī'a tendencies, indirectly reveals his extreme sense of appreciation for exquisite Arabian poetry.

Its identification and relation to other similar works.

As regards the identification and the full contents of this work our information 20 is very scanty. Prof. Brockelmann has altogether omitted the works of al-Marzubānī; even Ign. Goldziher, while tracing the influence of Abū Ḥatīm Sahl b. Muḥammad as-Sijistānī's (d. 250 A. H. = 864 A. D.) *Kitābu'l-Mu'ammari'n*⁴⁾, does not say anything about al-Marzubānī's work in this connection, and passes on to other later works, either bearing similar titles or contents. Amongst these he first mentions the work of 25 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn ash-Sharīf al-Murtadhā⁵⁾, the famous Shī'a divine (d. 436 A. H. = 1044/5 A. D.), entitled *ash-Shihāb fī sh-Shaybi-wa'sh-Shabāb*⁶⁾ as the first one particularly devoted to the *Mu'ammari'n*-literature, and conjectures that it probably has an implied reference to the *Kitābu'sh-Shaybi-wa'sh-Shayb* of Abū Bakr ibn Khayr (?); but, apparently, this title originated from al-Marzubānī and was adopted by these 30 later writers.

Its contents, importance, and preserved portion.

The contents of this work are indicated in a general way by the division in the title

¹⁾ See for further details about the life and works of al-Marzubānī the following works on which this notice is based: *Fihrist* pp. 132-4; *Ansāb* (facs.) p. 512a; *F. I. A.* Vol. VII (in the Press); *Ibn Khāl.* (Wust.) Biog. No. 658, pp. 50-1. Altogether omitted in Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.*

²⁾ D. f 62a, f 63a. IV. xv. 1948, 1958: «ابو عبد الله محمد بن عمر [ان] انوربانی [نوربانی] کتابی تألیف کرده است در شباب و شب و اسای جماعتی که نشان برارای عمر مخصوص بوده اند در آنجا آورده است. (= C. f 395a) و ذکر این جماعت از کتاب شب و شباب [الشباب و الشیب] نبشته آمد و ارباب فضل دانند که این ذکر از فائده خالی نیست و رأی عالی ملک الوزرائی را معلوم [باشد] که این دعاگوی در چندین دریا غوص کرده است» الخ

³⁾ See for a critical estimate of this work and its author, Ign. Goldziher's excellent 'Einleitung' to his edition of this work, Leyden, 1899, (= *S. K. M.*) esp. p. lxi in this connection.

⁴⁾ See for a complete biography of him, *Rawāḥi'u'l-Jannāt fī Aḥwāl'i'l-'Ulamā'i-wa's-Sūdāt* (Litho. 1307 A. H.). On p. 385 this work is mentioned as the *Kitābu'sh-Shaybi-wa'sh-Shabāb*.

⁵⁾ Published along with *Sakwatul-Ḥarīf* of al-Jāhiz (Constantinople 1302 A. H.).

itself, that of "*Shabīb*" and "*Shayb*", and by this division it is to be understood that, at any rate, a part of the work was devoted to those who died young; but from the account given by al-'Awfī and the extracts in the *Ḥawamī*^c and the actual agreement of most of the cited verses with those in the unique and earliest extant *Kitābu'l-Mu'ammari*n, it is certain that this work lies directly in the line of literary semi-⁵ historico-biographical works called the "*Mu'ammari*n" or the accounts of the long-lived, and it is most probable that it is directly influenced by as-Sijistānī's work. Its value lies mostly in the pedigrees, in the oldest citations from the pre-Islamic poets regarding the events of their own lives, and in the revelation of some of the Jāhiliyya traditions, notwithstanding the incredible number of years these people are said to have lived. Along¹⁰ with others, these fourteen sketches, some of which are devoid of all biographic information except the name and the age, are analysed in the *Table of Contents* (Pt. IV, ch. xx) and parallel references are given to the biographies in the *Kitābu'l-Mu'ammari*n, which affords an excellent opportunity of emending the corrupt text of these anecdotes even in the oldest Mss. of the *Ḥawamī*^c.

15

(28). The *Kitābu-Sharafu'n-Nabī*.

Difficulties in
the identifica-
tion of this
source

This is one of those sources of the *Ḥawamī*^c that cannot be identified properly for the following reasons: firstly, its title¹⁾ is uncertain owing to different readings in the Mss.; secondly, the name of the author is not mentioned; thirdly, it is variously designated by later authorities²⁾; fourthly, several other works³⁾ of similar titles and contents were written by different authors between the 4th and 6th century A.H.;²⁰ fifthly, there is only one anecdote which is borrowed from it with acknowledgment; and lastly, the verification of the facts mentioned in it is extremely difficult owing to the obscurity and doubtful reading of the name of the person, Zayd b. Sana⁴⁾, with whose conversion the anecdote is connected, even though according to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī it was related by many important traditionists. This anecdote is arranged²⁵ in the chapter on '*Ḥilm*' in illustration of the extraordinary self-control and clemency

¹⁾ A. f 10a: كتاب شرف النبي; B. f 155b: كتاب شرف النبي; C. f 88b: كتاب شرف النبي; D. f 105b: (sic) كتاب شرف النبي; G. f 180b: كتاب شرف النبي

²⁾ adh-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikhu'l-Islām* [Or. 49 Br. Mus.] f 59a: كتاب دلائل النبوة; as-Sam'ānī, *Ansīb* (facs.) p. 195b: كتاب في دلائل النبوة; Muḥibbu'd-Dīn at-Ṭabarī, *ar-Riyāḍu'n-Nadhira* (Leyden Cat. IV, pp. 80-1): شرف النبوة; H. Khalī, Vol. IV, p. 44, Nos. 7556: شرف المصطفى, 7558: شرف النبوة The above are the various titles of the same work of Abū Sa'd al-Khargūshī.

³⁾ Some of them are found in various European libraries, viz. The *Dalā'ilu'n-Nubuwwa* of Abū Nu'aym Iṣbahānī [Or. 3012 Br. Mus.], and of Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Bayhaqī [Or. 3013 Br. Mus.], and the *Kitābu'l-Wafā' fi Strati'l-Muṣṭafā'* [Pet. 255 Berlin] of Abū'l-Faraj 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān al-Jawzī, probably the same work which H. Khalī mentions as the *Sharafu'l-Muṣṭafā'*; while others of the title of *Dalā'ilu'n-Nubuwwa* of different authors are enumerated in H. Khalī, Vol. III, pp. 236-7. No. 5129, and a *Sharafu'n-Nabī* is quoted in D. T. S. p. 7.

⁴⁾ About whom Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī writes in *al-Isāba fi Tamayyuzi's-Ṣaḥāba* (Bib. Indica, Vol. XX) Pt. II, p. 52, Biog. No. 2889: زيد بن سمنة الأسدي، اختلف في سعة قبل بالثون وقيل بالثمانين قال ابن عبد البر «زيد بن سمنة الخوهر الاسرائيلي، اختلف في سعة قبل بالثون وقيل بالثمانين قال ابن عبد البر» الخ بالثون أكثر، روى قصة اسلامه الطبراني وابن حبان والمحاكم وابو الشيخ في كتاب اخلاق النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم وغيرهم» الخ

of the Prophet towards a Jew, named Zayd [b.] Shu'ba¹⁾ or Shifa or Sa'ba or Sa'na, a friend of 'Abdu'llah b. Salām, who, after having read and verified the various attributes of the Prophet in the *Tawrāt*, wanted to test the description "that his clemency will outstrip his anger and that the rudeness of the ignorant will only increase his clemency"²⁾, and with this motive he offered a loan and demanded payment from him before it was due, using strong provocation and casting a slur upon his reputation on the occasion of a public funeral; upon which 'Umar enraged at his insolence wanted to finish him off there and then, but the Prophet forbade him and asked him to pay twenty measures extra as penance for his threat; and thereby the Jew, convinced of the Prophet's meekness, repented and accepted Islām, (D. f 105 b. II. iv. 1231).¹⁰ The anecdote is related by 'Abdu'llah³⁾ b. Salām b. al-Hārith, also a convert from the Banú Qaynuqá', the account of whose conversion together with similar stories is given in almost every work of Tradition; but this Zayd's conversion⁴⁾ is not traceable to Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd, al-Bukhārī or aṭ-Ṭabarī.

Probable
authorship.

As regards the authorship of this work, most of the authorities enumerated above¹⁵ agree that the *Kitābu-Sharafu'n-Nabī*⁵⁾ or *Nubuwwa* was written by the famous preacher Abū Sa'd 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Abī 'Uthmān Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Khargūshī⁶⁾ an-Nīshāpūrī (d. 407 A. H. = 1016 A. D.). His work is extant both in the Arabic original and in a Persian translation, and Ahlwardt⁷⁾ and Rieu⁸⁾ have given full accounts of it; but unfortunately from the accessible Br. Mus. Ms. [Or. 3014] nearly half of the²⁰ chapters are missing, and similarly the Persian Translation⁹⁾ [Ancien Fonds Persan 82 Bib. Nat.] by Najmu'd-Dīn [correctly Zaynu'd-Dīn¹⁰⁾] Maḥmūd [b. Muḥammad] b. 'Alī ar-Rāwandī, the maternal uncle of the author of the *Rāḥatū's-Ṣudūr*, contains only 61 chapters out of the original 90; so that this anecdote is found in neither of these two Mss.

25

Anecdote
traceable to the
*Dalā'ilu'n-
Nubuwwa* of
Abū Nu'aym
al-Iṣbahānī.

But in the *Kitāb Dalā'ilu'n-Nubuwwa*¹¹⁾ [Or. 3012 Br. Mus.] of the Ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aym Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'llah b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq al-Iṣbahānī (b. 336 A. H. = 948 A. D.

¹⁾ A. f 10a = C. f 88a زيد شعبه; D. f 105a, f 106a زيد شعبه; K. f 279a زيد شعبه; [Or. 3012 Br. Mus.] ff 45b-46a زيد بن شعبه cf. Ibn Hajar (*loc. cit.*).

²⁾ A. C. D. سبق حمل [read غيلة] ولا يزيد [read زك] حمل [read الأمل]

³⁾ Ibn Hishām, *Siratu Rasūli'llah*, ed. F. Wustenfeld (= *H. S. R.*), Vol. I, pp. 352-4, and for other references see J. Horowitz's article on him in *Ency. Islam*. Vol. I, pp. 30-1.

⁴⁾ According to Ibn Hajar (*loc. cit.*) this story has been related by many earlier authors and has been incorporated by Abu'sh-Shaykh (probably referring to Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyyā, see *I. J. A.*, vol. II, pp. 7-8 in his *Kitāb Akhlāqu'n-Nabī*, a collection of traditions regarding the Morals of the Prophet, very similar to the works enumerated above; and even Ibn Sa'd is said to have related it in an impersonal form.

⁵⁾ The present writer is indebted to M. L. Massignon for having kindly directed his attention towards its probable author al-Khargūshī.

⁶⁾ *Ansāb* (facs.) pp. 193b, 195b; *Y. M. B.* Vol. II, pp. 421, 425; Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 200, 521.

⁷⁾ Verzeichniss der arabischen Hss. der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin, Band IX, p. 138-141. Nos. 9571-2. The present writer was not able to consult these Mss.

⁸⁾ Suppl. Ar. Mss. Br. Mus. pp. 307-9, No. 509, for a life of al-Khargūshī also.

⁹⁾ M. E. Blochet, Cat. Mss. Persana. Bib. Nat. Paris. Vol. I, p. 249.

¹⁰⁾ See *Rāḥatū's-Ṣudūr* ed. Dr. M. Iqbāl, Preface, p. xvii, n.

¹¹⁾ Suppl. Ar. Mss. Br. Mus. pp. 309-11, No. 510; also printed at Ḥaydarābād, Dakan.

d. 430 A. H. = 1038 A. D.), the famous author of the *Ḥilyatu'l-Awliyā'*¹⁾, this anecdote occurs under the heading of the Account of the Prophet in the Older Books, on ff 45b-46b, with little variations from the version given in the *Ḥawāmīn*. The name of the Jew occurs nearly seven times as Zayd b Sa'na, and at the end it is added that Zayd witnessed many battles with the Prophet and died fighting in the Battle of 5 Tabūk²⁾ (in 9 A. H.); for this reason this Zayd cannot be identified with Zayd b. al-Luṣayt³⁾ or al-Luṣayb of the Banū Qaynuqá, who according to Ibn Hishām⁴⁾ and others was one of the calumniators of the Prophet and died a *Mundāfiq*; and further Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī⁵⁾ distinctly calls him Zayd b. Sa'natu'l-Khayr al-Isrā'īlī.

(29). The *Ṭabā'i'u'l-Ḥayawān*⁶⁾.

An account
of the author
of this work.

This is one of those works utilised by al-'Awfī in the *Ḥawāmīn* on subjects con- 10 nected with natural history and is now apparently lost. Very little is known about its real contents or its author, Sharafu'z-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī, beyond a few incidental references and dates, placing him in Marw and connecting him with the Sultan Malikshāh Saljūqī who reigned between 465-85 A. H. = 1072-92 A. D.. His long connection 15 with Marw, most probably his native town, as his *nisba* also indicates, is apparent from the fact that four out of seven citations are local incidents, in two of which dates are also mentioned; once in 448 A. H. = 1056/7 A. D. he witnessed a feat of a Bedouin and in 478 A. H. = 1085/6 A. D. he treated, also in Marw, an elephant of Malikshāh. And again his attachment to the court of Malikshāh, probably as a physician, can also be inferred from the request and reward of the Sultan to him for having 20 explained the cause of sexlessness and abnormalities in both sexes.

Borrowed
anecdotes

The following are the anecdotes in which either a reference to the author occurs or the *Ṭabā'i'u'l-Ḥayawān* of Sharafu'z-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī is mentioned as the source.

- (1) Abnormal features in a girl and duality of sex, as related by the author in his 25 book, (D. f 59b. IV. xiv. 1936).
- (2) A deformed but skilful woman seen by the author in Marw, (D. f 60a. IV. xiv. 1939).
- (3) The author's explanation of sexlessness at the request of Malikshāh, (D. f 61a. IV. xiv. 1944).
- (4) A Bedouin seen in Marw by the author in 448 A. H. who overtook horsemen by 30 his characteristic swift-footedness and recovered his clothes with which they wanted to run away, (D. f 69a. IV. xvii. 1969).
- (5) The great age of an elephant and some observations, (D. f 80b. IV. xxi. 2009).

¹⁾ See Leyden Cat. Vol. V, pp. 209-23.

²⁾ See for all references, *Chronographia Islamica* by Leone Caetani, fasc. I, p. 90.

³⁾ Sir T. W. Arnold has kindly communicated with the present writer about him.

⁴⁾ *H. S. R.* Vol. I, pp. 351, 361, 900.

⁵⁾ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁾ D. ff 59b-60a: «شرف الزمان طاهر [مروزی] در کتاب طبایع حیوان خود آورده است». From this it appears that this work was an epitome of an earlier work; and from the citations, that it contained a systematic account of animal life, and that other personal observations and methods of treatment were also incorporated by the author, since he practised the art of medicine. Cf. Flügel, Vienna Cat., Band III, p. 451, fragment No. 19.

- (6) The story of a spiteful elephant that killed the son of a certain Muḥammad Fīlawī in Marw during the reign of Malikshāh I, (D. f 81 b. IV. xvi. 2010).
 (7) How the author temporarily stopped the bleeding of a wound in the breast of an elephant of Malikshāh I in Marw in 478 A.H., (D. f 81 b. IV. xxi. 2012).

(30). The *Kitābu'l-Ghurar wa's-Siyar*.

Correct
authorship of
the *Ghurar*.

This lately discovered work of Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Isma'il ath-Tha'ālibī¹⁾ (b. 350 d. 429 A.H. = 961-1038 A.D.), fully designated as the *Ghurar al-Akhbār al-Mulūkī 'l-Fursi wa Siyari-him*, forms one of the acknowledged sources of the *Ḥawāṣi* for the chapter "On the Ancient Kings of Persia" (Pt. I, ch. iv. Anecs. 119-193). Before 1900 A.D. it was believed that this work was written by another ath-Tha'ālibī named Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Mar'ānī or Marashī. Probably this mistake arose from the title-page of the Constantinople Ms, and was perpetuated by H. Khalfa²⁾ who ascribes it to the aforesaid Marashī and quotes the beginning line. Prior to him, even Ibn Khallikān was not aware of the existence of this work as that of the famous philologist ath-Tha'ālibī, since he has omitted it from the list of his works and has praised his more famous anthology the *Ṭatimmatu'd-Dahr* only. It escaped the notice of Prof. Th. Nöldeke in his masterly works '*Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*' and '*Das iranische Nationalepos*'. It was Hermann Zotenberg³⁾ who, for the first time, after examining the available material, established conclusively the claim of the great philologist as a historian also.

An account of
the work based
on Zotenberg's
Préface.

Unfortunately, only a quarter of the great history of ath-Tha'ālibī has come down to us, and much more interesting and contemporary material is lost, as we can judge from the original *Préface* of ath-Tha'ālibī (pp. xlvii-l), setting forth the grand scheme of the work. It was written, as shown by Zotenberg in his excellent *Préface*, probably between 408 and 412 A.H. = 1017-21 A.D. and is dedicated to the Prince Abu'l-Muẓaffar Naṣr b. Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr [Sabuktigīn], the brother of the great Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. The importance of this source of information about the ancient kings of Persia and their early legends is well established when we consider the period of the composition of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī, as both these works were written under the patronage of the Ghaznawids, and from almost the same available sources, and even under identical circumstances, — the difference being, that one is the highest expression of the epic in Persian, while the other is a systematic history in classical Arabic prose. All the resemblances to and divergences from the versions adopted by aṭ-Ṭabarī and put into verse by Firdawsī are analysed by

¹⁾ See for his life, *Ibn Khāl.*, (Wust.) Biog. No. 391, pp. 91-2; and for his works, Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 284-6; II, p. 697, ll. 1-4; cf. I, p. 342.

²⁾ See above, Notice No. (13), pp. 52, 54.

³⁾ *H. Khāl.*, Vol. IV, p. 319, No. 8592.

⁴⁾ See for a critical study of this work, his *Préface* to *His. des Rois des Perses*; and Prof. Browne's review in *JRAS.* (1901) pp. 161-4.

Zotenberg in his Préface (pp. xxv-xli) which extends our knowledge about the sources of the *Shāhnama* beyond the researches of Prof. Th. Nöldeke.

al-'Awfī's
adaptation of
the *Ghurar*.

As regards the method of utilisation adopted by al-'Awfī, it can be asserted on the basis of a textual comparison¹⁾ that either al-'Awfī has himself abridged the *Ghurar* in order to provide material for his anecdotes or has used its Persian Translation 5 called the *Ra'y-Ārāy*, discussed above in Notice No. (22). Although he has omitted in this chapter the parallel accounts, detached pieces and episodes given by ath-Tha'libī regarding the king-prophets like Yūsuf, Dā'ūd and Sulaymān and others, the accounts of the Pharaohs, the rulers of Yaman and Syria, and the wise and pithy sayings of the Persian kings attached to almost every biographical account, and the different 10 versions cited by ath-Tha'libī, yet the order, the division of the longer accounts, the main course of the narrative, the exact literal rendering of certain expressions throughout the anecdotes, and the consistent fidelity with which he reproduces the original version of these traditions in a very abridged form, definitely indicate that al-'Awfī has entirely based this chapter on the *Ghurar*, though occasionally he has referred to either at-Ṭabarī or 15 Firdawsī or some other source. The following analysis will perhaps illustrate his method precisely: In the very first account of Kayūmarth, ath-Tha'libī (*Gh.* pp. 1-4) quotes at-Ṭabarī and gives various opinions as to whether Adam and Kayūmarth were the same person, and an episode as to who were the kings amongst the prophets; al-'Awfī omits all these details and gives in brief the story of Kayūmarth (*A.* f 47a. I. iv. 119); and then in the 20 account of Húshang (*A.* f 47a. I. iv. 120) he omits the Arabic verses of Manšūr al-Faqīh cited by ath-Tha'libī and introduces a Persian couplet, the origin of which is uncertain; and further on in the account of Farídūn (*A.* f 49a. I. iv. 129) he omits the wise sayings recorded by ath-Tha'libī; al-'Awfī usually compresses lengthy accounts, e.g. the legend of Rustam and Isfandiyār, which covers in the *Ghurar* about 40 pages (338-78), is 25 abridged in the *Fawā'id* to two folios (*A.* ff 62a-64a. I. iv. 145); and very rarely he brings in a different version of the story, e.g. the account of Manes (*A.* f 70a. I. iv. 163), or enlarges an anecdote, e.g. Fīrūz b. Yazdijird's struggle against Khushunwār (*Gh.* pp. 579-83), cf. (*A.* f 73b. I. iv. 178). At the end of this chapter there are two anecdotes — one is a sketchy account of the kings of Rūm or Byzantium (*A.* f 81b. I. iv. 194), and 30 the other about Heraclius' persistence in opening the locked chamber (*A.* f 81b. I. iv. 195) — which are not traceable in the *Ghurar*, and are probably drawn from the lost portion of the book or some other source. Thus, in short, this chapter is an epitomised Persian translation of the *Ghurar*.

(31). The *Kitābu'l-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* of at-Tanúkhī.

The career
and work of
al-Muḥassin at-
Tanúkhī.

This Arabic original of the Qādhī Abú 'Alī al-Muḥassin²⁾ b. Abī'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. 35 Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Fahm Dā'ūd b. Ibrāhīm b. Tamīm at-Tanúkhī, who was born

¹⁾ See *Table of Contents*, Pt. I, ch. iv, for all parallel references.

²⁾ See for his life *Yatimat'ud-Dahr* pt. II, pp. 115-6; *Y. I. A.* vol. VI, pp. 251-67; *Ibn Khāṭ* (Wüst.) Biog. No. 567, pp. 82-5; *The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, preface by Prof. Margoliouth pp. v-viii; and for all references concerning "Die *Faraj ba'd al-Sidda*-Literature", Alfred Wiener in *Der Islam* (1913) Band IV, Heft 3, 4, pp. 270-98, 387-420. The present writer is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. C. A. Storey

in Baṣra in 327 or 329 A.H. = 938 or 940 A.D. and died in Baghdad in 384 A.H. = 994 A.D., is one of the acknowledged¹⁾ sources of al-ʿAwwf, which has somewhat increased the value of the *ʿawāmi* in the field of historical anecdotes and considerably in bulk. al-Muḥassin at-Tanukhī, a Mesopotamian judge, a poet, a Muṭazilite traditionist, and an eminent prose-writer, was one of the distinguished members of his family, in which learning was cultivated assiduously, literature flourished, and the greatest historical movements found an echo. Like his father, ʿAlī, he was occasionally employed on political missions, held various offices, chiefly as a Qādhī, had travelled through the lands of the Caliphate, had associated intimately with the most eminent men of his times, and had obtained an exceptional insight into the various aspects of life. As a judge, he was fully aware of the social circumstances in which enmity, jealousy, disgrace, imprisonment and flight took their origin. As a literary man, he had read largely in Tradition, history and other branches of literature both in Arabic and Persian, and had obtained the *Ijāza* of the *Kitābu'l-Aghṣni* of Abu'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī and possessed a very retentive memory. And as a student of current politics, he had studied history, and in many cases taken part in contemporary events; but he has not given us the result of his experiences in the form of a systematic chronicle. Therefore, his literary achievements entitle him to be ranked only as one of the most talented gatherers of historical anecdotes. His works throw sufficient light upon the internal history of the declining period of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphate and afford us, in parts, details which cannot be had anywhere else in such a graphic form: even Miskawayh and Hilāl b. Muḥassin aṣ-Ṣābī are indebted to him in certain respects. And, in fact, as Prof. Margoliouth²⁾ remarks, the *Nishwār u'l-Muhādḍhara* or his "Table-talk, of which only one volume out of eleven has been discovered, is a mine of information about the customs of the time and the conduct of his contemporaries." And again the Professor adds in his preface to the English translation of his *Nishwār*: "It was his purpose to record interesting facts which had come to his knowledge by personal experience or by hearsay; in general he avoided matter which had already appeared in books. He admits that there are exceptions to this rule to be found in his work, and indeed several of the stories already published in the *Deliverance after Stress*³⁾ are repeated here"⁴⁾.

for the latter and several other references. The detailed researches of Herr A. Wiener are incorporated in this Notice advantageously, and to him also the present writer owes a deep debt of gratitude.

¹⁾ See above, p. 15, II. 23-5.

²⁾ *Eclipse* (Index Vol. VII) preface, p. viii; and *Table-Talk* preface, p. v.

³⁾ *T. F. S.* stand for the *Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* (Cairo edition 1903, 1904).

⁴⁾ Prof. Margoliouth has given parallel references of these recurring anecdotes, which, on a closer study, show the relation of the *Nishwār* to the *Faraj*: *T. F. S.* Pt II, p. 17 = *Nishwār* (Arabic Text) pp. 133-4; *T. F. S.* II, pp. 17-9 = pp. 150-4; *T. F. S.* I, pp. 153-4 = pp. 220-3; *T. F. S.* I, pp. 172-3 = pp. 225-6; *T. F. S.* I, pp. 174-6 = pp. 238-40; in the *Faraj* 373 A.H. is given as a past year, whereas in the *Nishwār* this anecdote is shortened and the date is omitted, from which it appears that the *Nishwār* was completed later than the *Faraj*. According to his own authority (Arabic Text p. 7), the *Nishwār* was begun in 360 A.H., and it is said to have been written during twenty years. Various events and dates in the *Faraj* indicate that its period of composition includes the years 358-68 and 373 A.H. (*T. F. S.* Pt. I, pp. 132; 176), so that part of the *Nishwār* appears to have been written simultaneously; meanwhile these anecdotes were incorporated from one into another as the author chose. *T. F. S.* II, pp. 94-5 = *Nishwār* pp. 246-8, where at the end an episode (p. 248, II. 8-18) is added, which does not form part of this story and is missing in the *Faraj* also.

The sources
of the *Faraj*.

The *Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, a less original work than its successor the *Nishwār*, which also differs from it essentially in its object¹⁾, design²⁾, sources³⁾ and subject-matter, forms one of the most important contributions to the *Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*-Literature. It is a collection of anecdotes of sensational character depicting "Relief after Distress", containing 14 chapters of different headings bearing loosely on the central theme and illustrating thrilling human experiences. It is partly based on the earlier collections of the same title, *viz.*, by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'ini (d. 225 A.H. = 839/40 A.D.), by Abū Bakr 'Abdu'llah b. Muḥammad Ibn Abī'd-Dunyā (d. 281 A.H. = 894/5 A.D.) and by the Qādhī Abu'l-Ḥusayn 'Umar b. Abī 'Amr Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (d. 328 A.H. = 939/40 A.D.). It is partly borrowed from several Histories of the Wazīrs, like the *Kitābu'l-Wuzarā'* of Abū 'Abdī'llah Muḥammad b. 'Abdūs al-Jahshiyārī⁴⁾ (d. 331 A.H. = 942/3 A.D.) that of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā aṣ-Ṣūlī⁵⁾ (d. 335 A.H. = 946/7 A.D.) and that of Abū 'Abdī'llah Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāh⁶⁾ (executed 296 A.H. = 908/9 A.D.), the Wazīr of the Caliph 'Abdullah Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz, and the *Manāqib u'l-Wuzarā'* of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-I'ath al-Muṭawwaq⁷⁾ al-Kātib⁸⁾ (who survived the Caliphate of al-Qāhir bi'llah 320–2 A.H. = 932–4 A.D.) and from several other sources⁹⁾ which are recorded in the admirable article of Herr Alfred Wiener in *Der Islam*. Other accounts in the *Faraj* are either indirectly taken from the author's predecessors or directly from his teachers and other eminent contemporaries like the famous historian Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣūlī from whom he obtained the *Ijāza* of his *Kitābu'l-Wuzarā'*¹⁰⁾ and of the *Kitābu'l-Awraq*¹¹⁾ also, Abu'l-'Abbās Muḥammad¹²⁾ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥammād al-Aṭṭam al-Muqri al-Khayyāṭ al-Baghdādī (d. 336 A.H. = 947/8 A.D.), his father Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī¹³⁾ b. Muḥammad b. Abīl-Fahm Dā'ūd al-Tanūkhī (d. 342 A.H. = 953 A.D.), his preceptor Abu'l-Faraj 'Alī¹⁴⁾ b. Ḥusayn al-Iṣfahānī, the famous author of the *Kitābu'l-Aghāni'l-Kabir* (d. 356 A.H. = 967 A.D.)¹⁵⁾ from whom he obtained the *Ijāza* of this book¹⁶⁾, Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad¹⁷⁾ b. Yūsuf al-Azraq al-Kātib b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. al-Buhlūl al-Tanūkhī (alive in 361 A.H. = 971/2 A.D.) and Abu'l-Faraj 'Abdu'l-Wahīd¹⁸⁾ b. Naṣr al-Makhzūmī al-Ḥinṭī known as al-Babbaghā' (d. 398 A.H. = 1007/8 A.D.).

The nature
of the *Faraj*.

The nature and subject-matter of the anecdotes in the *Faraj* varies according to the sources and authorities referred to in the book. In the earlier part, it is full of

¹⁾ See al-Muḥassin's own preface to the *Faraj* (*T. F. S.* pp. 5–7), also Leyden Cat. Vol. I, pp. 212–6.

²⁾ Compare the list of chapters at the end (*T. F. S.* p. 220) with that of the *Nishwār* (Preface).

³⁾ al-Muḥassin acknowledges the earlier *Farajs* in his preface and frequently quotes them in the anecdotes; but he claims to have made great improvements upon his older models. For other particulars see *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*).

⁴⁾ See *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*) p. 403 for the references of the citations from this work in the *Faraj*.

⁵⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 403–4.

⁶⁾ *Ibid.* p. 404.

⁷⁾ *Ibid.* p. 404.

⁸⁾ *Ibid.* pp. 404–7.

⁹⁾ *T. F. S.* Pt. I, pp. 40, 66, 84, (orally from aṣ-Ṣūlī, Pt. I, pp. 44, 72, 89, 91, 147, 158, Pt. II, p. 4).

¹⁰⁾ *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*) p. 405; a passage cited from this work is found in the Ms. of the *Faraj* in Berlin, [Cat. No. 8738] f 106b; see also above, Notice No. (12).

¹¹⁾ *T. F. S.* Pt. I, pp. 88, 132; cf. *Ansāb* (facs.) p. 19a.

¹²⁾ *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*) pp. 388–91, for his life and other particulars.

¹³⁾ *Ibid.* p. 405, nn. 6 and 7.

¹⁴⁾ *T. F. S.* Pt. II, p. 177.

¹⁵⁾ *T. F. S.* Pt. I, pp. 107, 132, *passim*. cf. *Eclipse* (Index Vol. VII) p. 10, for references to the oral traditions reported from him in the *Nishwār*, (on p. 275, 361 A.H. as the year in which the conversation took place).

¹⁶⁾ *Der Islam* (*loc. cit.*) p. 406.

quotations from the *Qur'ān*, and other traditional forms of prayers used for "*Faraj*", which are mostly borrowed from the earlier *Farajs*. In the middle, various important details about the declining period of the Caliphate, and about the sudden changes in the office of the *Wizārat* are reported on the personal authority of the various secretaries who were in direct touch with the political affairs of the time. In handing down these anecdotes al-Muḥassin took every opportunity of gaining his material from every source. Now his authorities are Shi'a and 'Alid, now Christian, now an inhabitant of Ahwāz and now a trader from Baghdād; and wherever possible he imparted an extraordinary personal colour to these accounts. At the end of the book, ludicrous and strange incidents are told, which are a curious combination of grim realities and uncanny horrors (such as are found in the *Tales* of Edgar Allan Poe) with accidental escapes and quasi-miraculous rescues and a juxtaposition of "Whirlpools" and "Safety-zones", failures and successes and misadventures and bold risks in various perilous undertakings. The scenes of most of these stories are laid in Baghdād, Kufa, Baṣra, Ahwāz and other social centres. The state of society as revealed in some of these anecdotes is rather perplexing. There existed side by side benevolent despotism and severest tyranny; patronage of talents, whimsical emoluments and shameful bribes and decay of genius, swift dismissals and painful extortions; and the greatest possible fear of and trust in God together with outrageous crimes and villainies.

Utilisation of
the *Faraj* by
al-'Awfī.

As regards the utilisation of the *Faraj* by al-'Awfī, nearly three-fourths of the work have been freely incorporated in one chapter or another of the *Jawāmi'*¹⁾. As remarked previously²⁾, al-'Awfī had prepared a Persian translation of the *Faraj*, and from that very translation he has actually copied³⁾ these anecdotes and arranged them arbitrarily⁴⁾ under different headings⁵⁾, often regardless of the design of at-Tanūkhī. At times anecdotes from one single chapter of the *Faraj* are scattered over different chapters of the *Jawāmi'*, and at others, a few chapters are retained *in extenso*; e.g. the first thirteen chapter-headings in Pt. IV of the *Jawāmi'* are directly taken

¹⁾ Numerous anecdotes are found in the following chapters: Pt. I, chs. vi, xi, xviii, xx, xxi, xxiii, xxv; Pt. II, chs. iii, iv, vi, ix, x, xiii, xiv, xvi, xviii, xx, xxii, xxiii; Pt. III, chs. v, vii, xv, xxi; Pt. IV, chs. iii-xiii, out of which chs. vi-xi are entirely based on the *Faraj*. Parallel references, whenever traced, are given in the *Table of Contents*.

²⁾ See above, pp. 15, II. 15-25.

³⁾ E.g. The anecdote of al-Aṣma'ī's poverty in the days of his early education, the Grocer's taunt, and al-Aṣma'ī's appointment as tutor to the Caliph's son al-Ḥafṣ. ((*T. F. S.* Pt. II, ch. vii, pp. 19-21 = [Ind. Off. 1432] ff 11b-13b = (D. f 122a. II. vi. 1304)).

⁴⁾ E.g. The anecdote of the pathetic appeal of Zuhayr b. Ṣurad, a poet of the tribe of Hawāzin, to the Prophet for amnesty, and his ode in praise of the Prophet. In *T. F. S.* Pt. I, ch. v, p. 88 it occurs under the heading, "On Deliverance from Imprisonment" etc., whereas in the *Jawāmi'* (A. f 240a. I. xxiii. 1109) it is inserted in the chapter "On Poets" etc. On the other hand, the anecdote of the Shi'a Poet, Dī'bīl of Khuzā'a, (*T. F. S.* Pt. II, ch. xi, pp. 104-6) is retained in the *Jawāmi'* (D. f 25b. IV. viii. 1860) in the chapter "On Deliverance from Brigands" etc.

⁵⁾ E.g. The account of the arrest of the three magnates Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd b. al-Jarrāh, the Qādhī Abu'l-Muthannā and the Qādhī Abū 'Umar, the brutal assassination of the first two, and the intercession of the Wazīr Ibnu'l-Furāt on behalf of Abū 'Umar who survived the shock, though his hair turned grey on account of fear. In *T. F. S.* Pt. I, ch. v, pp. 120-2 it is related in the chapter "On Deliverance from Imprisonment" etc., whereas in the *Jawāmi'* (D. f 10b. IV. iii. 1813), though the original is closely followed, it is given in the chapter "On Fear and Hope".

from those of the *Faraj*, and in some of these, anecdotes after anecdotes follow in the same order. In these borrowed anecdotes, the authorities and verses cited by at-Tanúkhí are often omitted, and a few details are suppressed; but the translation is uniform, accurate and simple.

(32). *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* (Persian Translation by al-'Awfí).

An account
of the merits
and contents of
al-'Awfí's ver-
sion.

An account of the composition and transcription of this work, and its priority to Husayn's translation has been given in detail in the preceding pages (14-19); here a few points about its merits, contents and relation to the original of at-Tanúkhí will be outlined. It appears, firstly, that al-'Awfí used a much fuller text of the *Faraj* than is represented in the Cairo edition, as there are a number of genuine anecdotes in this translation which are missing in the latter; secondly, that he originally intended to divide his own version into two *Daftars* or parts, and to follow the original order of the chapters and anecdotes as closely as possible. Unfortunately both the extant Mss.¹⁾ which represent this translation are in a very defective condition, as they are marred by lacunae, transposition of folios, wrong numeration of chapters and disarrangement of anecdotes. Moreover the text is very corrupt, authorities of narratives are omitted, proper names are mutilated and citations from Arabic prose and poetry are often wrongly transcribed. The ignorance of the copyist is to a great extent responsible for some of these glaring errors. On comparison of one of the Mss. which is said to be the second half of al-'Awfí's translation [Ind. Off. 1432] with the original text of the *Faraj*²⁾, it is found to contain over three-fourths of the work — the first three chapters and the last one are entirely lacking, apart from the gaps in the middle; thus owing to transpositions or the defective arrangement of the original copy, a fairly large portion of the first part of the *Faraj* is also included in this Ms. The contents of both the Mss. enable us to judge accurately the relative merits of al-'Awfí's and Husayn's versions. Each has an advantage over the other, *i. e.* the classification of chapters and the division of anecdotes in Husayn's version is very precise and useful; whereas in al-'Awfí's version it is very difficult to follow the order of the chapters or of the anecdotes. But al-'Awfí's version has one great merit in its favour, that it presents in its essential features an accurate, simple, pure and slightly abridged translation; whereas in Husayn's version, prolixity, modification of the text, omissions, and insertions of his own poetical pieces in Arabic and Persian have in great measure effaced the merit of an unadulterated and faithful translation.

¹⁾ Ethé, Cat. Pers. Mss. Ind. Office, coll. 504-5. Nos. 737 and 738.

²⁾ The following is a list of the contents of al-'Awfí's Translation [Ind. Off. 1432] which roughly corresponds with the original of at-Tanúkhí's (*T. F. S.*):

f 11b-f 61b = Pt. II, ch. vii. pp. 19-40; f 64a-f 101a = Pt. II, ch. viii. pp. 44-72; f 101b-f 126a = Pt. II, ch. ix. pp. 73-94; f 126a-f 135a = Pt. II, ch. x. pp. 94-104; f 135a-f 149a = Pt. II, ch. xi. pp. 104-118; f 149b-f 174a = Pt. II, ch. xii. pp. 118-148; f 174a-f 240b = Pt. II, ch. xiii. pp. 148-188; f 242a-f 256a = Pt. I, ch. iii. pp. 57-65; f 256a-f 285a = Pt. I, ch. iv. pp. 66-88; f 285a-f 352b = Pt. I, ch. v. pp. 88-147; 352b-f 392b = Pt. I, ch. vi. pp. 147-188; f 392b-f 415a = Pt. II, ch. vii. pp. 2-17.

(33). The *Qábús náma*¹⁾.

Relation of the
Qábús-náma to
the *Ḥawāṣṣi*.

This book of moral precepts and rules of conduct written by Unṣuru'l-Ma'ālī Kay-Ká'ús b. Iskandar b. Qábús b. Washmgír for his son Gílánshah in 475 A. H. = 1082/3 A. D. is vaguely²⁾ mentioned by al-'Awfī in one anecdote concerning the deposition of Qábús³⁾ b. Washmgír, the Ziyárid⁴⁾ ruler of Ṭabaristán, who was put to death in 403 A. H. = 1012 A. D.. However, besides this, there are seven anecdotes⁵⁾ which are common to the *Qábús-náma* and the *Ḥawāṣṣi*, some of which are found to agree very closely on textual comparison, whence we can infer that al-'Awfī utilised this work also. In the *Lubáḥ*⁶⁾ he has not mentioned the *Qábús-náma* at all; but he has referred to the famous compositions of Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qábús, the grandfather of Kay-Ká'ús, in prose and verse, collected by the Imám Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad¹⁰⁾ al-Yazdádī, known as the [*Qarā'in-i-Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī wa*] *Kāmdlu'l-Balāgha*¹¹⁾, extracts from which are preserved in the *Ta'rikh-i-Ṭabaristán*¹²⁾ of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan known as Ibn Isfandiyár.

Common and
parallel anec-
dotes.

The following are the anecdotes common to the *Qábús-náma* and the *Ḥawāṣṣi*, the purport of which is given according to the version of the latter, while a few points¹⁵⁾ of divergence and similarity are also briefly noticed:

- (1) Brutal rejoinder of one of the notables of Bukhárá to a poor fellow-pilgrim who had the audacity to challenge the comparative reward for their pilgrimage. (A. f 203b. I. xvi. 850) = *U. Q. N.* ch. iv, pp. 20-1, where the story is in a fuller form and differs in a few minute details.²⁰⁾
- (2) The Sultan Maḥmúd's threat to the Caliph (al-Qádir bi'llah who ruled 381-422 A. H. = 991-1031 A. D.) that he would attack him with elephants, and the latter's pithy but enigmatic reply by the letters *ألم* alluding to the verse in the *Qur'án* (cv. 1) concerning the fate of Abrahámu'l-Ashram, which was correctly interpreted²¹⁾ by Abú Bakr ['Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-] Quhistání only. (A. f 218b. I. xviii. 996) = *U. Q. N.* ch. xxxix, pp. 185-7,²⁵⁾ where the story is given in detail and does not correspond verbally with the *Ḥawāṣṣi*. In the latter work it is told in connection with other attempts of the Sultan to extract titles from the Caliph, whose name is not mentioned. (See above, p. 83).

¹⁾ Ethé in *G. I. P.* II, p. 347; Prof. Browne's analysis of this work in *Lit. Hist. Persia* Vol. I, pp. 276-87; *U. Q. N.* stand for Tíhrán litho. 1285 A. H.

²⁾ (C. f 233b = D. f 150a. II. xv. 1 423): «آوردہ اند کہ [عصر المعالی کیکاؤس بن اسکندر بن] شمس المعالی قابوس: (n)»

(a-b) Added; not given in any Ms. [بن] [b] و شمس در انای یندا کہ پسر را میداد گمت

³⁾ See for a sketch of his life M. Cl. Huart's article in *Ency. Islam*, Vol. II, p. 596.

⁴⁾ See *Reclassification of the Contents* for other anecdotes of the Ziyárids in the *Ḥawāṣṣi*.

⁵⁾ Pt. I, p. 31, cf. also, p. 297.

⁶⁾ *Chahar Maqála*, p. 95.

⁷⁾ [Add. 7633 Br. Mus.] f 81a-f 84a «دو امام ابو الحسن علی بن محمد الزیدادی جمع ساخته است از الفاظ او و آرا قران شمس المعالی و کمال البلاغه» نام نهاده و درو اند رسالت فلسفی و نفوس و احوالات و بشایر و فتوح و وقایع، باغر آن جمع بدح (f 81b) و متاقب او اوراق بیاض سواد گردانیده، سخن بزدادی: و انا اقول بلسان مطلق ان احدا لم یسمع کلاما مؤلفا باللغة العربیة مثل رسائل قابوس فی الفصاحة و الوجاهة.... الخ»

^{a)} Prof. Margoliouth informs me that these *Rasá'id* have been printed at Baghdád.

⁸⁾ Probably owing to the coincidence of the name of the elephant of Abrahá with that of Maḥmúd (see *H. S. R.* p. 35, l. 12; and for a biography of Abú Bakr Quhistání, *Y. I. A.* Vol. V, pp. 116-21).

- (3) Plato's grief at being praised by a fool. (A. f 249b. I. xxv. 1155) = *U. Q. N.* ch. vi, pp. 34-5.
- (4) Muḥammad [b.] Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī the physician's alarm at being laughed at by a madman, and his endeavour to rid himself of any symptom of madness which the madman may have found in common with his own. (A. f 249b. I. xxv. 1156) = *U. Q. N.* ch. vi, p. 35. These two stories resemble each other very much and in the latter the proverb in Arabic is also quoted.
- (5) The fate of the two interpreters of the Caliph Harūn's dream, one of whom is flogged for giving a plain and unvarnished interpretation, whereas the other is rewarded for his euphemistic reply. (D. f 123b. II. vi. 1314) = *U. Q. N.* ch. vii, p. 42.
- (6) The deposition and imprisonment of Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qábús b. Washmgír attributed by him rather to his own negligence in not murdering his enemies than to his tyranny, as remarked by one of his custodians Abú 'Abdī'llah [Jammáz]. (D. f 150a. II. xv. 1423) = *U. Q. N.* ch. xx, pp. 87-8. The texts agree very closely, cf. *D. T. S.* pp. 48-9; also *History of Tabaristán* p. 232.
- (7) The shepherd who advised his dishonest master to sell pure milk, and his witty reply when retribution overtook the latter and the flock was swept away by flood. (D. f 251a. III. xvi. 1703) = *U. Q. N.* ch. xxxii, p. 154.
- (8) Sayyida the mother of Majdu'd-Dawla's bold reply to the Sultan Maḥmūd, whereby she prevented Maḥmūd from attacking her capital, Ray. (D. f 274a. III. xxii. 1745) = *U. Q. N.* ch. xxix, pp. 128-9, cf. *D. T. S.* pp. 43-4.

The text of anecdotes No. (6) and No. (8), which are typical of the *Qabūs-nāma*, is closely followed by al-'Awfī, but the personal references of the author are omitted, and the original classification of other anecdotes is also ignored.

(34). The *Kitābu'l-Hayawān*¹⁾.

al-Jāhīz's
position as a
natural-philosopher.

Among the various works utilised by al-'Awfī for the compilation of anecdotes in his chapters on natural history (Pt. IV, chs. xxi-xxiv), the above work of Abú 'Uthmān 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhīz²⁾, the famous prose-writer and natural philosopher and the founder of the Jāhīziyya sect, who was born in 150 A.H. = 767 A.D. and died in 255 A.H. = 869 A.D., is mentioned five times in one connection or another in the *Jawāmi'*. Before proceeding to discuss the actual merit of the citations from the *Kitābu'l-Hayawān*, the following observation, regarding al-Jāhīz's position as a scientist, seems appropriate here: "Primarily, our author was a religious thinker belonging to the rationalistic sect of Islām, the Mu'tazila. His works on natural history are closely

¹⁾ al-'Awfī always mentions it as the *Ṭabā'i'at al-Hayawān*, and to avoid confusion with the work of Marwazī, noticed above No. (29), he gives the name of al-Jāhīz along with it. See for other works of the same title and subject-matter, *H. Khal.*, (Vol. III, pp. 121-2, No. 4662); references are given to the Cairo text printed in 1325 A.H. (= *J. K. H.*).

²⁾ See for his life and works etc., *V. I. A.* Vol. VI, pp. 56-80; Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 152-3; *Ency. Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 1000-1001; and the unpublished dissertation of Dr. M. Badhlur-Raḥmān in the University Library, Cambridge, from which the following quotation is taken.

connected with theology by his attempt to show the unity of nature and the equal value to the observer of its constituent parts. To conclude, Jahiz besides representing the stand-point of the educated man of the time was a link between the philosophers proper and those theologians who had to combat with foreign ideas."

Identification
of the *Kitab*
Tafdhili'l-
Kalbi etc.

An illustration of this fact can indirectly be noticed from one of the citations in the *Jawami'*. al-'Awfi mentions a treatise of al-Jahiz which is hitherto not known to exist separately. It is designated the *Kitab Tafdhili'l-Kalbi 'ala's-Siflati mina'n-Nās*¹⁾, which the present writer regards as a first instalment of the *Kitabu'l-Hayawan*, as it appears to be no other than the "Controversy of the Dogs and the Cocks", representing two schools of thought amongst the Mutakallimūn of his day. Parts I and II of the *Kitabu'l-Hayawan* are entirely devoted to this diatribe, which al-Jahiz aims at certain theologians whose names he carefully omits; and under this allegorical treatment of the subject and veiled attack, he describes the virtues of a dog and its utility to mankind. al-'Awfi, not being concerned with the controversy, has selected only that small portion dealing with the varieties of the best hunting dogs, (D. f 88b. IV. xxii. 15 2048 = *J. K. H.* Pt. I, p. 105; Pt. II, pp. 15-6) which is most appropriate from the natural history point of view.

Citations from
the *Kitabu'l-*
Hayawan in
the *Jawami'*

- Citations with acknowledgement directly traceable to the *Kitabu'l-Hayawan* are:
- (1) A few particulars about the elephant, which al-Jahiz quotes from the observations of the Indian philosophers (D. f 80b. IV. xxi. 2009) = *J. K. H.* Pt. VII, pp. 29, 31, 32, 33. 20
 - (2) Another observation of al-Jahiz on the greediness of pigs. (D. f 88b. IV. xxii. 2047) = *J. K. H.* Pt. IV, p. 17.
 - (3) Argument against the theory of "*Khalq-i-Murakkab*" (hybrid) as applied to the giraffe. (D. f 91b. IV. xxiii. 2059) = *J. K. H.* Pt. I, p. 65; VII, p. 76.

Other unidentified citations either with the name of al-Jahiz or his *Taba'i u'l-Hayawan* are as follows:

- (1) Opinion of al-Jahiz about the influence of wine on different temperaments, (D. f 193b. III. i. 1541).
- (2) Anecdote related by al-Jahiz about a stammerer, 'Abdu'llah 'Ami(?) who grew eloquent after taking plenty of wine at a party given by the sons of Abdu'l-Malik Riyashi(?), (D. f 194a. III. i. 1542).
- (3) al-Jahiz's incredible story of the animals trained by Aswad b. Iyadh al-Jabali(?) for hunting, (D. f 86b. IV. xxii. 2037).
- (4) al-Jahiz on the scarcity of the rhinoceros, (D. f 91a. IV. xxiii. 2056).

References to
other authors
in connection
with the anec-
dotes on na-
tural history.

The following are the anecdotes in which vague references either to the ancient authors or to their works occur:

- (1) Sinan²⁾ b. Thabit al-Harrani the famous physician's observation on a deformed woman, (D. f 60a. IV. xiv. 1938).

¹⁾ D. f 88b. = M. 239b. IV. xxii. 2048: «في ذكر الكلب، عمرو بن [بحر] جاحظ كتابي ساخته است و آنرا تفصيل الكلب على السلسلة من الناس نام نهاده است و آن كتاب بر حكايات فاسدان و يرواني آدميان بدگهر [است]»

²⁾ *Fihrist*, pp. 272, 302; *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukama'* of Ibnu'l-Qifti ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, (= *Q. T. H.*) pp. 190-5; *Uyūnu'l-Andā fī Tabagāt al-Afībbā'* of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a printed at Cairo 1882, with introduction etc. by A. Müller, Königsberg, 1884, (= *U. T. A.*) Pt. I, pp. 220-4.

- (2) 'Ubaydu'llah¹⁾ [b. Bukht-Yishū' b.] Jibrā'il's similar observation in his book about a deformed man whom he had seen in Hurmuza (?). (D. f 60b. IV. xiv. 1941).
- (3) Hippocrates'²⁾ explanation of abnormities, (D. f 60b. IV. xiv. 1943).
- (4) Dioscorides³⁾ on the medicinal value of the parts of an antelope, (D. f 83b. IV. xxi. 2023).
- (5) Ptolemy's⁴⁾ account of a famous breed of war-horses, (D. f 84a. IV. xxi. 2025).
- (6) Abū Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī's] account of strange animals presented to the Sāmānids in 339 or 337 A. H., (D. f 84b. IV. xxi. 2027), (D. f 89b. IV. xxii. 2050).
- (7) Dioscorides and Ibn Māsa⁵⁾ on the medicinal properties of the various parts of an ass, (D. f 85b. IV. xxi. 2033).
- (8) A *Kitāb-i-Sumūm* (?) cited regarding the fat of a leopard as a cure for paralysis, (D. f 86b. IV. xxii. 2040).
- (9) Aristotle's book⁶⁾ cited: as to how a fox keeps a wolf away from its lair by means of wild onion, (D. f 89a. IV. xxii. 2050).
- (10) Galen⁷⁾ arranges a fight between a weasel and a serpent and cures the weasel by an antidote, (D. f 90b. IV. xxiii. 2054).
- (11) Rufus⁸⁾ of Ephesus witnesses a fight between a weasel and a serpent and discovers *Ḥabbu'l-Fār* as an antidote, (D. f 91a. IV. xxiii. 2055).
- (12) Abū Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī's] description of the animal Shérú of the rhinoceros type, (D. f 91b. IV. xxiii. 2057). See above, Notice No. (1)b.
- (13) Aristotle's description of a strange animal⁹⁾, (D. f 92a. IV. xxiii. 2060).
- (14) A Greek author's¹⁰⁾ description of a curious animal¹¹⁾ with a tail like a peacock's. (D. f 92b. IV. xxiii. 2064).
- (15) A Greek musician¹²⁾ who devised a musical instrument that produced the cry of a young Burşul and thereby collected olives. (D. f 95a. IV. xxiv. 2074).

¹⁾ C. f 393a حبل عبد الله (sic); D. f 60b حبل عبد الله (sic). Q. T. H. p. 146; *Arabian Medicine* pp. 23-4.

²⁾ *Fihrist*, p. 287; Q. T. H. pp. 90-5; U. T. A. Pt. I, p. 24 sqq.

³⁾ D. f 84a: ديسقوريدس; D. f 85b: ديسقوريدس evidently Dioscorides, see *Fihrist*, p. 293; Q. T. H. pp. 183-4; U. T. A. Pt. I, p. 35, although H. Khal. III, p. 121, No. 4662 mentions a *Kitābu'l-Hayawān* by ديسقوريدس. (On p. 25, l. 10, read Dioscorides for Democrates).

⁴⁾ *Fihrist*, pp. 267-8; Q. T. H. pp. 95-8.

⁵⁾ D. f 85b and J. f 382b read ابن ماسه i.e. 'Isā b. Māsa, see *Fihrist* p. 296; Q. T. H. p. 246; U. T. A. Pt. I, p. 184; several other references to him occur in the same part on pp. 130, 142, 149, 165, 170, 171, 175 in the following manner: «و قال ابن ماسه الطيب عن عيسى بن ماسه الطيب» whereas K. f 528b and M. f 236a read ابن ماسويه i.e. Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh, see *Fihrist* pp. 295-6; Q. T. H. pp. 380-91; U. T. A. Pt. I, pp. 175-83.

⁶⁾ Probably referring to his *Kitābu'l-Hayawān*, which is mentioned in the *Fihrist*, p. 251; Q. T. H. p. 41; H. Khal. III, p. 121. An Arabic version of it is in the Br. Mus. [Add. 7511.] See old Arabic Cat, p. 215a; another combined work which is based on Aristotle is [Or 2784 Br. Mus.] see Suppl. Ar. Cat., pp. 531-2.

⁷⁾ *Fihrist*, pp. 288-91; Q. T. H. pp. 122-32; U. T. A. Pt. I, pp. 71-103.

⁸⁾ D. رومن كبر; other Mss.: روفس كبر see *Fihrist* pp. 291-2; Q. T. H. p. 185; U. T. A. Pt. I, pp. 33-4.

⁹⁾ D. ماريطودون; probably μαριχόπος (μαριχόρας), Persian مردخوار

¹⁰⁾ D. اطليموس; K. f 535a = M. f 244a: اطليموس; probably, Ptolemy.

¹¹⁾ D. عربي

¹²⁾ D. f 95b حجانوس; K. f 537b حجانوس; M. f 247a حجانوس (?)

Subject-matter
of the chapters
on natural his-
tory in the
Jawami.

In the introductory remarks (D. f 80b. IV. xxi. *Int.* 2009) al-'Awfi states, that, since he has treated at length of the nature and temperament of mankind throughout the entire work, he thinks proper to devote a few chapters to the animal kingdom also. Therefore, in this chapter (xxi) he starts with a description of domestic quadrupeds and gives a few of their peculiarities; in the next chapter (xxii) he takes up wild beasts; and in the following chapter (xxiii) he mentions some strange and uncommon animals, the accounts of which are found in the works of Greek authors on natural history, and briefly records their peculiarities, properties and special medicinal uses. Lastly, he closes the chapters on natural history with an account of strange birds (ch. xxiv), which is partly based on mythical and traditional accounts.

10

Importance of
these chapters,
and a notice of
other works.

Although al-'Awfi does not claim to deal with the subject of natural history as a science and has selected only very peculiar and uncommon features of the animal kingdom for illustrating his chapters, yet we find that he has incidentally touched upon many problems connected with it, e.g., instinct, natural affinity and animosity, preservation of species, struggle for existence, animal habits and tactics, coupling, cross-breeding, effect of environments at the time of conception, and of music on animals, and other problems. Similarly, as it was the custom of ancient writers on natural history to record the medicinal properties of the various parts of animals, he has also given us some information, which may appear to us very crude and elementary. The importance of some of these anecdotes can only be realised when we consider that they are probably the earliest remains in Persian of the works of some of the most important authors mentioned above. It is rather difficult to trace and identify these passages from ancient sources, as it is not known whether al-'Awfi drew all his information from Persian¹⁾ and secondary sources²⁾ which contained these quotations or directly from Arabic translations of the older works; but there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of their contents, when we find him faithful as regards other sources which we possess, e.g. the *Kitabu'l-Hayawan* of al-Jahiz. There is another work entitled the *Na'iu'l-Hayawan wa Manafi'ih* [Or. 2784 Br. Mus.] which is said to have been compiled from the *Kitabu'l-Hayawans* of Aristotle and that of 'Ubaydu'llah b. Jibra'il b. ['Ubaydu'llah b.] Bukht-Yishu', which in parts agrees with the accounts given by al-'Awfi³⁾. Thus, these chapters on natural history follow the works of the ancient authors, though much of accuracy is lost during transition, and pave the way for works like the *'Ajd'ibu'l-Makhluqat* of Zakariyya Qazwini, to which many accounts of semi-scientific nature are common⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Cf. Flugel, Vienna Cat., Band III, p. 451, fragment No. 17. It contains a few anecdotes taken from the *'Ajd'ibu'l-Makhluqat* of Muhammad Nasafi (?). According to Flugel a major portion of these anecdotes is also found in the *Jawami'u'l-Hikayat*, but the present writer had no opportunity of comparing these texts and establishing their relation to each other.

²⁾ See above, Notice No. (29).

³⁾ E.g. the following passage about the yearly change of sex in the hyena appears to be a literal translation. [Or. 2784 Br. Mus.], ff 171b-172a: «خالف الصبح جميع اصناف الحيوان و انواعه و ذلك انها تصير سنة ذكراً و سنة انثى تتبدل
كل سنة من ذكورة الى اناثه و من اناثه الى ذكورة معى الذكر و هى الانثى معاً تلحق احياناً كالذكر و احياناً كالانثى مجهرها مختلط عجيب
هو بعضى از [حكى] بوان گفته اند كه كفتار سالى مر باند و سالى ماده و گاه گشتى كد و گاه با او
گشتى كند و اين سخن را اصلى توان دانستن و قبول ابن بر عقل ممتنع باند»

⁴⁾ See the *Table of Contents* Pt. IV, chs. xxi-xxiv for parallel references.

(35). The *Kitābu'l-Firda*.

References
to this work in
the *Ḥawāṣi*'.

This work is mentioned four times in the *Ḥawāṣi*' without the name of its author. In one anecdote, dealing with the origin of the science of physiognomy, in the chapter "On the Sagacity of Eminent Persons", Aḥmūd¹⁾ is mentioned as the founder of this science; and the oft-quoted story²⁾, of his correct reading of the lustful nature of Hippocrates from a chart of his features, is told at length, (A. f 154*b*. I. xi. 589). In another anecdote, the Imām Shāfi'ī is said to have gone in search of this science to different countries and acquired a considerable knowledge of reading men's characters from their features, (A. f 153*b*. I. xi. 579). Two other references to this work are given in connection with the relation of external features to the human mind, (D. f 194*a*. III. i. 1543), (D. f 194*b*. III. i. 1545).

Identification
not possible.

It is not known which particular author's work was in the hands of al-'Awfī. In these citations he alludes to a work written by the Greek philosophers. Ibnu'l-Qiftī in his *Ta'rikhu'l-Ḥukamā'* (p. 60) in the biography of Aḥmūd says that the treatise of Aḥmūd on physiognomy was translated from Greek into Arabic; but he does not mention the name of the translator. H. Khalfa (Vol. IV, p. 388, No. 8943) speaks of a work on the above subject, composed by the Imām [Fakhr'u'd-Dīn] ar-Rāzī (d. 606 A. H. = 1209 A. D.) which was based on the work of Aristotle, and enumerates a few other works on physiognomy, but unfortunately none of these has come down to us.

(36). The *Kitābu'l-Maghāzī*.

Acknowledged
citations from
the *Kitābu'l-*
Maghāzī of
Muhammad b.
Ishāq.

The name of Muḥammad³⁾ b. Ishāq (d. 151 A. H. = 768 A. D.) is particularly mentioned in connection with the above work twice in the *Ḥawāṣi*'. One anecdote which is related on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, the author of the *Maghāzī*, concerning the vow of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet, to sacrifice one of his sons (A. f 32*b*. I. ii. 53), is preserved *in extenso* in the *Siratu Rasūli'llāh* (pp. 97-100) of 'Abdu'l-Malik⁴⁾ b. Hishām (d. 218 A. H. = 834 A. D.), in whose recension the work of Ibn Ishāq is preserved mainly. Another anecdote, about a man from an Arabian tribe who was taken prisoner during the early victories of the Prophet and breathed his last on separation from his beloved (D. f 36*b*. IV. x. 1896), is also taken from the *Maghāzī* of Ibn Ishāq, but it is not traceable to Ibn Hishām. There is another citation from an indefinite *Maghāzī* concerning the famous steed of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ called Balqā' and the poet Abū Mihjan ath-Thaqaffī's exploit on the eve of the Battle of Qādisiyya, (D. f 85*a*. IV. xxi. 2029). The latter anecdote is genuine⁵⁾, but it belongs to a

¹⁾ *Fihrist*, pp. 314, 356; Flügel in his Notes, p. 155, No. 3 has identified him with Polemon.

²⁾ *Q. T. H.* p. 91-2; *U. T. A.* I, pp. 27-8; *H. Khal.* IV, pp. 589-90; *Q. A. M.* p. 385, his work is cited.

³⁾ See the various notices on him collected by F. Wustenfeld in his *Einleitung* to *H. S. R.* and Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 134-5.

⁴⁾ *Ibid.*; *Ency. Islam*, Vol. II, p. 387 for bibliography.

⁵⁾ Cf. the account of Abū Mihjan in the *Kitābu'sh-Shā'ri wa'sh-Shu'arā'* of Ibn Qutayba, ed. M. J. de Goeje, pp. 251-2.

like the *Masálik wa Mamálik* and the *Kitáb-i-Tabd'í* [probably of *al-Buldán*]. From the time of Ibn Khurdádbih who began his *Masálik wa Mamálik* about 232 A.H. = 846 A.D., the earliest extant work on the "Routes and Continents", to that of Yáqútu'l-Hamawí, an illustrious contemporary of al-'Awfí, who made a fair copy his *Mu'jamu'l-Buldán* in 625 A.H. = 1228 A.D., there are at least three more works extant of the same title¹⁾, that of Iṣṭakhrí (who wrote in 340 A.H. = 951 A.D.), of Ibn Ḥawqal (who wrote in 367 A.H. = 978 A.D.) and of al-Bakrī²⁾ (d. 487 A.H. = 1094 A.D.), and similarly there are more than twelve old extant works³⁾ with the titles of '*Ajā'ibu'l-Buldán* and *Kitābu'l-Buldán*; therefore, it is very difficult to identify the works used by al-'Awfí. Moreover a comparison of the material and arrangement of the two chapters (xvi-xvii) on cosmography with the extant *Masálik wa Mamálik* shows that al-'Awfí did not utilise them, and has probably drawn his material from some comparatively late work.

A notice on the cosmographical portion in the *Fawámu'l-Hikayat*.

In these two chapters on cosmography⁴⁾ al-'Awfí has given us a rudimentary sketch of the world as it was known to the old Arab geographers, and has described the main groups of peoples inhabiting the different "climes". In chapter xvi, after describing the ancient physical geography of the world, he goes on to the division of the globe into seven *Iqlims* or "climes", which is more or less the same as that adopted by his predecessors like al-Mas'ūdī⁵⁾ and by his successors like Zakariyyá al-Qazwíní⁶⁾ and Shamsu'd-Dín ad-Dimashqí⁷⁾ (d. 727 A.H. = 1327 A.D.). Then he gives an account of the ancient Chín, its old capital, fine arts and civilization, and a few other interesting details (D. f 66a. IV. xvi. 1965), some of which are taken from an *Akhbār-i-Chín*, and correspond with the account given by Yáqút⁸⁾ from the itinerary⁹⁾ of Abú Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil al-Khazrají al-Yanbú'í (who wrote after 331 A.H. = 942 A.D.). Further on, he gives us really valuable information about ancient Turkistán and the Valley of Kharkhíz and the various Turkish tribes that once existed in those regions, (D. ff 66b-68a. IV. xvi. 1966-7). The importance of these sketches has been shown by Professors Barthold¹⁰⁾ and Marquart, as has been noticed previously (pp. 31-2). In the next chapter (xvii), al-'Awfí takes up the historical geography of Rúm or Byzantium,

¹⁾ Three of them are edited by M. J. de Goeje in the Bib. Geog. Arab. Vols. VI, I, II, respectively.

²⁾ The whole work is not accessible to the present writer, but from the extracts published by De Slane in the *Description de l'Afrique* etc. (Alger, 1857), and by A. Kunik and V. Rosen "On al-Bakrī", St. Petersburg, 1878, it can be ascertained that al-'Awfí did not use al-Bakrī's *Masálik wa Mamálik*.

³⁾ Details about these works and Arab geographers will be found in the following works: *Géographie D'Aboulféda* traduite . . . par M. Reinaud, (Paris, 1848), Tome I, Introduction, chapter II; *Palestine under the Moslems* by Mr. Guy Le Strange, (London, 1890) pp. 1-13; Brock. *Gesch. Ar. Litt.* I, pp. 225-30, 475-82; M. J. de Goeje's introductions to the Bib. Geog. Arab. Series; *L. E. C.* pp. 11-6. The present writer is indebted to Mr. Guy Le Strange who was kind enough to solve some of his difficulties in these chapters.

⁴⁾ See the *Table of Contents*: Pt. IV, chs. xvi-xvii, for a detailed account.

⁵⁾ *M. T. I.* pp. 31-3.

⁶⁾ Cf. The *Akhbār-i-Bilād* ed. F. Wustensfeld (= *Q. A. B.*) pp. 9, 48, 92, 188, 330, 387, 410.

⁷⁾ Cf. The *Nukhbātu'l-Dahr fi 'Ajā'ibi'l-Barri wa'l-Baḥr* ed. M. A. F. Mehren, (1886), (= *D. N. D.*), pp. 17-25.

⁸⁾ *Y. M. B.* Vol. III, pp. 445-54.

⁹⁾ Probably his '*Ajā'ibu'l-Buldán* is alluded to by Yáqút.

¹⁰⁾ Also in ZVO., IX, (1895), pp. 262-7 for an extract about Rús.

and gives a short description of the military organisation, civil administration, religious orders and the revival of Greek learning as introduced into Asia Minor, (D. f 68*a*. IV. xvii. 1968). Then follows an account of Arabia, its pre-Islamic civilization and a few features of the Bedouin life, (D. 68*b*. IV. xvii. 1969). Next comes India, but the information does not exceed a few remarks about the black arts and the diversity of her races ⁵ and religions, (D. f 69*b*. IV. xvii. 1971). Then he deals with the Ḥabasha and gives a few interesting details about their curious manners, customs and superstitions, (D. f 69*b*. IV. xvii. 1972). Lastly, he closes this chapter with a very long account of the People of the Jazá'ir, by which he means those who dwelt on the isles round the Caspian Sea, and with an account of the land of Maghrib ¹, (D. f 70*a*. IV. xvii. 1976). ¹⁰

¹) Cited in *H. N. Q.*, see above, p. 27; utilised by Cl. Huart, see above, p. 32 (*l.* 5, where by an oversight reference to the folio and to the anecdote number is wrongly printed); for *Sijar al-Muluk* as its source, see above, pp. 56, 59.

All the 37 Notices in this chapter have undergone the scrutiny of Prof. D. S. Margoliouth and Dr. R. A. Nicholson who have laid the present writer under deep obligations.

CHAPTER IV.

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF
THE MSS. OF THE *JAHAMUL-HIKAYAT*

(pp 105—124)

CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF ALL THE
KNOWN MSS. OF THE *ḤAWḤMI'U'L-HIKĀYĀT*
WITH A VIEW TO ESTABLISH A STANDARD TEXT.

There are nearly thirty-four Mss.¹⁾ of the *Ḥawḥmi' u'l-Hikāyāt* preserved in the various libraries of Europe. Seven are in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; an equal number in Petrograd or Leningrad: three in the Asiatsky Muzei, two in the Imperatorskaya Publichnaya Biblioteka and two in the Imperatorsky Sanktpeterburgsky Universitet; six in the British Museum, London; five in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; 5 two in the India Office Library, London; two in the collection of Prof. E. G. Browne, Cambridge; two in the Hof- und Staatsbibliothek, Munich; one in the Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek, Vienna; another in the Nur-i-Uthmaniyya Library, Constantinople and another in the John Rylands Library, Manchester²⁾.

Very little is known about the Mss. of this work in the East, beyond a few 10 incidental references in the following works. Sir William Ouseley writes in his *Travels in various Countries of the East, etc.*³⁾ (published at London in 1821): "The two copies which I have used are large folio Mss.; one containing 850 pages, the other above one thousand". Dr. Sprenger in his "Descriptive List of the Mss. of Sir Henry Miers Elliot"⁴⁾, after giving a short description of the Ms. of the *Ḥawḥmi'* in possession 15 of Sir H. M. Elliot, says that it belonged to the "Heirs of Maharajah Ratan Chand Bareilly, folio, old and splendid, near a thousand pages of 29 lines, close writing. It contains the fourth part, but there seems no third Qism in this. There is also a copy in As. Soc."⁵⁾. Then Edward Thomas of the Bengal Civil service who edited the *Essays on Indian Antiquities*⁶⁾ etc. of the late James Prinsep, F. R. S., in 1858, says: "A good Ms. in 20 my own possession, one of the few that Ranjīt Singh's library boasted of", and quotes from H. T. Prinsep's Ms., both of which evidently were at his disposal. Circa 1869, Prof. John Dowson, the editor of the "*History of India*", etc.⁷⁾ by Sir Henry Miers Elliot, writes: "Copies of the *Jāmi'u-l-Hikāyāt* are not uncommon. Sir H. Elliot used in India two large folio Mss., one containing 850, and the other 1000 pages. There 25 is a fine copy in the East India Library⁸⁾. The Editor has had three large Mss. for use and reference. One fine perfect copy in Naskh characters belonging to Mr. H. T. Prinsep, size 16 × 11 inches; another in folio belonging to the late Raja Ratan Singh, of Bareilly, in which the third kism is deficient, and lastly, a Ms. which formerly belonged

¹⁾ See below, the accompanying *Chronological Table* on p. III.

²⁾ Yet there might be some other Mss. even in Europe which have not come to light. The present writer has actually examined nearly twenty-two Mss.

³⁾ See above, p. 31.

⁴⁾ Published in JAS. Bengal, (1854), vol. xxiii, p. 259, No. 191.

⁵⁾ Probably [R. A. S. 341], an excerpted Ms., is referred to.

⁶⁾ Published at London, (1858), Vol. I, pp. 317-8.

⁷⁾ Vol. II, p. 157.

⁸⁾ Probably L. i.e. [Ind. Off. 595] is referred to.

to Ranjīt Singh and is now the property of Mr. Thomas. This last contains only the first two Kisms, but as far as it goes it is fuller and more accurate than the others. The different copies vary considerably in the number of stories¹⁾. The above extracts suggest the probable existence of a few other Mss. of this work in India, the home of this book; but judging from the number of the Mss. of this work that are found 5 in the Western libraries, there is very little doubt that the oldest and the best royal codexes of this work have been transported by various agencies to Europe.

A note on the acquisitions of the Mss. of the *Jawāmi*^c

Cursorily glancing upon the history of the acquisitions of the Mss. enumerated above, we find that most of them were brought over from India, Persia, Arabia, and Turkey. Thus the "*Annals of the Bodleian Library*" (p. 369) under the year 1859, 10 says of the John Bardoe Elliott collection which is now preserved at Oxford: "And the munificent gift of a very valuable collection of 422 volumes of Arabic and Persian Mss. was received from Mr. J. B. Elliott, of Patna, (not the historian). These chiefly consist of the Mss. which Sir Gore Ouseley (who died Nov. 18, 1844,) obtained during his diplomatic service in the East, commencing his collection when stationed at Lucknow, and 15 completing it while ambassador in Persia, of which Mr. Elliott had been the purchaser. A small remaining part had previously been bought by the Library, as noted under 1858". And again (p. 367): "Thirty-nine choice Persian and Arabic Mss., which had formed part of Sir Gore Ouseley's collection, were bought from his son, the late Rev. Sir Fred. Gore Ouseley, Bart., for £ 500. The rest of the collection came by gift." Out of the 20 seven Mss. at Oxford, one is Sir Gore Ouseley's own copy, another his brother Sir William's, a third one is Fraser's, and the rest were probably collected by J. B. Elliott himself. Amongst these, [Elliott 171 and 172] is a fine complete Ms. of the work in two volumes, which once belonged to a royal library. Other Mss. taken out of the royal libraries of India either went to the British Museum or to the India Office Library; 25 and a few from Turkey which were originally transcribed in Persia went through French acquisitions to the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The few Petrograd Mss. must naturally have come from Turkistān. Among the various collectors, whose notices will be found under the annals of the acquisitions of individual collections, the names of Sir Gore Ouseley, Sir William Ouseley, Sir Henry Miers Elliot, the historian of India, 30 J. B. Elliott, Sir William Jones, Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler, Fraser(?), William Yule, George William Hamilton, Claudius James Rich, Henry Gordon, H. G. Keene, Wallis Budge, [N.] Bland, John Baillie, Sir Henry Creswicke Rawlinson, and Ducurroy (?) are known.

Order of merit of the Mss., and a plan for a standard and complete text of the *Jawāmi*^c.

The order of merit of the Mss. of the *Jawāmi*^c almost corresponds with the chronological arrangement adopted in the accompanying *Table* which is based partly 35 on the accuracy of the text and partly on the age of the Mss.. As regards the latter, the seven 14th century A.D. Mss., viz. A. to G., are the oldest we possess, and are very important. In spite of the fact that four of them, viz. A., C., D. and E., are incomplete, that three of them, viz. C., F. and G., are undated, and that one, viz. B., is abridged in places while another, viz. F., is entirely abridged and supplemented with anecdotes 40 of a later period, yet all of them contain archaic spellings, and permit us to judge

¹⁾ The present writer is unable to trace the places of burial of some of the Mss. referred to in these extracts. An undated complete 15th century Ms. is described in the Cat. Ar. Pers. Mss. Oriental Public Library at Bankipore, Vol. VIII, p. 171. No. 727.

the comparative value of the later Mss., and to determine, on the whole, the nearest possible correct and complete text of the work; moreover they are accessible to European scholars, on account of their being preserved in the great libraries of Paris and London. In general the present *Introduction to the Ḥawāṣin* is based on the study of nearly twenty-two Mss. and in particular on a close study of the first seven Mss.. Consequently, five Mss. **A.**, **B.**, **C.**, **D.** and **G.** are selected for a *Comparative Index* of the hundred chapters, and two dated Mss., **A.** and **D.**, offering a unique opportunity of establishing a full and complete text of the four parts, are adopted as the bases of a projected text, which the present writer hopes to publish at some future date. and **G.**, being a complete Ms., is adopted as a companion text along with **A.** and **D.** for purposes of general reference, description of the titles and standardising the anecdotes throughout the complete *Table of Contents of the Ḥawāṣin*.

The 15th
century Mss.

Next in order are the four 15th century A.D. Mss., viz. **H.**, **H bis**, **I.** and **I bis**. The first three are dated and complete, the last one is undated, but contains archaic spellings; hence it is also included amongst the 15th century Mss. All these are also important for various reasons, although their textual value cannot be estimated very high. **H.** is the next complete Ms. and is very helpful for purpose of reference and collation. **H bis** is the earliest Ms. containing miniatures. It once formed part of the Baillie collection and was presented to the Edinburgh University Library, but is at present missing from there. It is provisionally included in this list, in order to facilitate its discovery, and given its due place in the chronological order, if perchance it were discovered anywhere or restored to the Library, it would deserve careful study and consideration. Then **I.** is a royal Ms. transcribed in Turkey in the flourishing period of Persian literature under the Ottoman Sultans. **I bis** is the oldest of the Petrograd Mss.; it offers good readings and compares favourably with **C.** and **D.**, although it is incomplete.

The 16th-19th
centuries Mss.

The third group is that of the 16th century A.D. Mss. All the four, viz. **J.**, **K.**, **L.**, **L bis**, are complete but undated and merit little consideration, excepting **K.** which is stated to have been transcribed from a 14th century Ms. and offers fairly correct readings. **L bis**, though not so old, probably contains some of the additional anecdotes hitherto found in **A.** exclusively, and also appears to be either abridged in places or marred by omissions. Then the 17th century group of ten Mss., which almost contains dated and complete ones, is a huge mass of mediocre and unreliable transcripts; here and there one might find some valuable readings as in **M.**, but on the whole these later texts deserve very little credit. Then come those of the 18th and 19th centuries, most of which have not been personally examined by the present writer and, from the scanty descriptions collected from various sources, appear to be very modern, ordinary and unreliable texts, excepting the *Núr-i-Uṭhmáníyya* 3272, which owing to its being deposited in that Library for ages and also being included in *H. Khalfa* deserves a thorough examination, in order to estimate its real textual value and establish its relative position in this list. These later texts do not materially affect the plan of standardising the text of the *Ḥawāṣin* which is aimed at in this survey of the Mss.

Method ad-
vocated by
Mírzá Muḥam-
mad.

It might be added in the end, as a safeguard for editing a work on a scientific basis, that, as Mírzá Muḥammad Khán Qazwíní, one of the greatest contemporary

Persian scholars and exponents of textual accuracy and collation, once remarked, there is no such thing as a perfect text of a single Ms. in the Persian language, because it does not exist. The nearest approach to the original can be gained only by consulting almost all the available Mss., and using due discretion and strict precision in collation and exact reproduction of the various readings of the Mss., however 5 modern they may be, as sometimes some of the oldest and most reliable Mss. contain incorrect readings, which may possibly be rectified in a very late Ms. If the scribes in the past, through their harmful ingenuity and failure to understand a passage or a word, have emended or distorted the text in order to make it readable and clear, let not the same mistake be repeated in editing a text on a scientific basis. In view 10 of these valuable suggestions almost all the available Mss. have been examined, out of which we have nearly ten old and reliable Mss. from which a standard and complete text of the *Jawami* can be safely established, while others can be dispensed with, since we know their comparative merit. Unless and until a contemporary or an autograph codex luckily comes to light and reveals entirely new features, this plan 15 will remain final.

A Chronological Table¹⁾ of the Mss. of the *Jawāmi' al-Iḥkām*.

No.	Chrono. ²⁾ Order.	Original Mark of the Mss.	Dated = Cent.		Contents ³⁾ : Parts	Textual Importance.
			A. H.	A. D.		
1.	A.	= Ancien Fonds Persan 75, Bib. Nat., Paris.	699	14th	I; II, chs. i-v only.	The oldest, fullest and most accurate Mss. base for Pt. I
2.	B.	= Suppl. Persan 95, Bib. Nat. Paris.	717	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Correct, helpful but abridged in places.
3.	C.	= Or. 6855, Br. Mus., London.	—	Do.	I; II; III; IV.	Very old, correct and helpful, but portions missing.
4.	D.	= Or. 2676, Br. Mus., London.	732	Do.	IV; II; III only.	Very old, correct and reliable: base for Pts. II-IV.
5.	E.	= Or. 4392, Br. Mus., London.	741	Do.	I, chs. i-v only.	Very correct, but fragmentary.
6.	F.	= P. and A. 59 (Jones) Ind. Off., London.	—	Do.	I; II; III; IV.	Abridged and supplemented.
7.	G.	= Suppl. Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris.	—	Do.	o I; II; III; IV	Complete, correct and reliable: used as companion Ms.
8.	H.	= Elliot 171 + 172, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	832-3	15th	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete, fairly good and helpful.
↑ 9.	H bis.	= Univ. Lib. Edin. 119. (Baillie MS.).	842-3	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete, contains 30 miniatures, but at present lost
↑ 10.	I.	= Persisch 422, Hof. Bib. Wien.	896	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete and helpful.
↑ 11.	I bis.	= Imp. Sank. Univ. 648, Petrograd.	—	Do.	II; III; IV only.	Very old, fairly good and reliable.
12.	J.	= Add. 16, 862, Br. Mus., London	—	16th	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete, but incorrect, defective and unreliable.
13.	K.	= Or. 236, Br. Mus., London	—	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete, partly correct but unreliable.
14.	L.	= Ind. Off. 595. (Ethé Cat. 600), London.	—	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete, but evasive and unreliable.
↑ 15.	L bis.	= Imp. Publ. Bib. IV. 2. 33., Petrograd.	—	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Fairly good, contains additional anecdotes, but partly abridged.
16.	M.	= Add. 7672, Br. Mus., London.	1025	17th	III; IV only.	Late, but fairly good and helpful.
↑ 17.	M bis.	= Imp. Publ. Bib. V. 4. 31, Petrograd.	1032	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete, but mediocre.
18.	N.	= Elliot 169, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	1042	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete, but mediocre and unreliable.
19.	O.	= Elliot 173, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	1049	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Do. Do. Do.
20.	P.	= Schindler Ms., (Prof. Browne), Cambridge.	1059	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Do. Do. Do.
21.	Q.	= Fraser 125, Bodl. Lib., Oxford	1061	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Do. Do. Do.
22.	R.	= Elliot 174, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	1067	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Do. Do. Do.
23.	S.	= Elliot 170, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	—	Do.	II; III, IV only.	Mediocre.
24.	T.	= Ouseley 361, Bodl. Lib., Oxford.	—	Do.	I only.	Mediocre and fragmentary.
↑ 25.	U.	= Crawford 81, John Rylands Lib., Manchester.	—	Do.	II; III; IV only.	Mediocre and incomplete.
↑ 26.	V.	= Quatremère 35, Munich.	—	18th	o I; II; III; IV.	Complete but very late and ordinary
↑ 27.	W.	= Quatremère 53, Munich.	—	Do.	II; III; IV only.	Very late and ordinary.
28.	X.	= Naaman's Ms., (Prof. Browne), Cambridge.	—	Do.	I, only.	Do. Do. and unreliable.
29.	Y.	= Suppl. Persan 96, Bib. Nat., Paris.	—	Do.	I, chs. i-v only.	Do. Do. Do.
30.	Z.	= Suppl. Persan 97, Bib. Nat., Paris	—	Do.	I, only.	Do. Do. Do.
↑ 31.	Pet. 1.	= Asia. Muz. 581aa, Petrograd	1251	19th	I, only.	Do. Do.
↑ 32.	Pet. 2.	= Asia. Muz. 581au, Petrograd.	1261	Do.	o I; II; III; IV.	Do. Do.
↑ 33.	Pet. 3.	= Asia. Muz. 581aa-, Petrograd.	—	Do.	III, only.	Do. Do.
↑ 34.	Pet. 4.	= Imp. Sank. Univ., Petrograd.	—	Do.	—	Abridged and valueless.
↑ 35.	Núr. 1.	= Núr-i-'Uṭhmāniyya 3272, Constantinople.	—	Do.	—	—
↑ 36.	Núr. 2.	= Núr-i-'Uṭhmāniyya 3273, Constantinople.	—	Do.	—	Abridged throughout.
37.		(Unknown).	—	Do.	I, only.	With miniatures.

¹⁾ This *Table* is intended for facilitating reference to the catalogues of various European Libraries, where, excepting H bis, all the Mss. are preserved, and to the accompanying *Descriptive List* in which fuller details are given and the comparative value of each Ms. for standardising a complete text is determined.

²⁾ The letters of the alphabet representing the Mss. are arranged, as far as possible, in strictly chronological order, which also coincidentally corresponds with the order of merit. In the absence of dates and lack of information, palaeographical features and textual accuracy (e.g. in C.) or indications from the excerpts and descriptions of the Mss. (e.g. of the seven Petrograd Mss.) have been the reasons for preference and determination of the century to which the Ms. is likely to belong. Thus the letter of the alphabet will at once indicate the relative position of the Ms.

³⁾ There are 17 complete Mss.; others are either in parts or abridged. A. and D. are the bases of the text for Pts. I, and II to IV respectively. Confused fragments and excerpted versions such as are found in the India Office, in the British Museum and in the Royal Asiatic Society Library are not taken into account. ↑ indicates a Ms. not examined by the present writer. o indicates a nearly complete Ms. Its position indicates the defective portions of the Ms. Bu is used for duplicated letters.

Descriptive List of the Mss. of the Jawāmi' u'l-Hikāyat.

1.
[A. = Ancien
Fonds Persan
75, Bib. Nat.,
Paris]¹⁾, as the
base for Pt. I.

Folios 255; size 35 by 24 cm.; 33 lines per page; dated; frontispiece; rubrications; occasional notes and a few short titles of anecdotes on the margin in different hands and at different periods; bold and beautiful Naskh; most probably transcribed in Persia; archaic spellings; each part divided into two *Mujallads* (a division which does not occur in any Ms. as the work, according to the author's division, is expressly denoted by *Qisms* only); transposition and inversion of folios 180-182, 208-214; missing folios in the beginning of Pt. I, f 196-f 266, and f 85 and f 92 are supplied by a careful reader; double pagination, Pt. II (chs. i-v) comes first, (folio numbers in ink only are referred to in the present work). Contents²⁾: f 16-f 186, Pt. II, chs. i-v. Anecs. 1183-1284 (originally titled as *al-Mujalladu'th-Thāliṭh*, but now, wrongly, as *al-Mujallad u'l-Awwal*; f 196-f 266, Pt. I, (original preface, defective list of chapter-headings and ch. i. Anecs. 1-32, supplied by a later hand in Nasta'liq); on f 27a begins the original transcript and the Ms. breaks off on f 255b at the last but one anecdote (1181) of the 25th chapter of Pt. I. Thus chs. i-xxv are complete. A dated colophon³⁾ after the the first half of Pt. I, ch. x. Anec. 564 called *al-Mujalladu'l-Awwal* occurs on f 150b giving the date of transcript as Dhu'l-Qa'da 699 A. H. (= July 1300 A. D.), and below it is a short endorsement by an unknown reader which bears 21, Jumādā II, 803 A. H. (= Jan. 1401 A. D.) as the date of finishing the study of the *Mujallad*. Then on f 151b begins the subsequent portion called *al-Mujalladu'th-Thāni*, which continues to the end of the part.

This is the oldest Ms. so far as it is known through an investigation of about thirty-four Mss. of the *Jawāmi'* in Europe. It was transcribed nearly 70 years after the date of the composition of the work, which falls between 625 and 630 A. H., and like other Mss. it gives a clue to the progress of the work at the hands of the author⁴⁾. It contains a much fuller text and about 175 genuine additional anecdotes, three-fourths of which are not found in any part of any of the Mss. which the present

¹⁾ This Ms. is simply registered in the hand-written "Catalogue des Manuscrits de l'ancien fonds persan, par M. Fagnan" = (Supplément persan 1626, see p. 77), but no description is given. The present writer possesses a photograph of it.

²⁾ For a detailed description, see below, the *Comparative Index* of the first 25 chs. of the *Jawāmi'* on p. 132.

³⁾ « تَبَيَّنَتْ [تَبَيَّنَتْ] أَوَّلُ مَجْلَدِ الْوَلَدِ فِي ثَمَانِ شَهْرِ ذِي الْقَعْدَةِ لِسَنَةِ ثَمَانِ وَ سِتْمِائَةٍ »

⁴⁾ (A. f 84b = C. f 125b = E. f 71b = K. f 84a. I. v. 202): In this anecdote, after giving an account of Ubulla, al-'Awfi adds that God has glorified this faith (Islam) in every age by instituting power in a king; and when the author was writing this account of the Persian conquest by Khālid [b. al-Walīd] during the Caliphate of Abū Bakr (d. 13 A. H. = 634 A. D.), the glad tidings of the victorious arms of the King (رايات اعلى ناصرى) in the campaign of Khokhar (كوكهر) or (كوكهي) or (كوكهر) against Badru'd-Dīn (ربال) or (ربال) reached him. The date of this event is not ascertainable, nor is it precisely known to which particular ruler's banners reference is made. Ilutmish, of course, took a leading part under Qutubu'd Dīn Aybak, in the campaign of his over-lord Mu'izzu'd-Dīn or Shihābu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī against the Khokhars in 602 A. H. (*M. T. IV.* pp. 169-170), but that was long ago when al-'Awfi was wandering in Khurāsān (see above, pp. 9-10), and the name of Badru'd-Dīn Tirbāl (?) is not associated with it. Probably this is an event of the latter part of Ilutmish's reign, which has not been recorded in Indian History as yet (See for "Khokhars" H. G. Raverty's notes, on *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri*. (Index vol. p. 62) Eng. Trans., 1873-97.

writer has had the opportunity of examining; excepting probably **L bis**, which contains at least one anecdote (I. xiii. 728) quoted exclusively from this Ms. by Prof. Barthold in his *Turkistân* (see above, p. 8, II. 11-14). Thus the order and number of anecdotes in the present Ms. to the middle of Pt. I, (chs. i-xii), correspond exactly with all the older Mss.; but from chs. xiii-xxv a considerable number of anecdotes is added in each chapter. While in all the other Mss. the number of anecdotes decreases as the part advances and comes to an end, in this Ms. it does not fall below a minimum of 15, as will be seen by referring to the *Comparative Index* of the first 25 chapters of the *Fawâmi*^c.

Moreover this Ms. contains a few references by the author himself giving an indication of the succeeding chapters and anecdotes in other parts and a few personal and autobiographic¹⁾ anecdotes which are exclusively found in these additions. Another peculiar feature of this Ms. is that some anecdotes are repeated over again in the same part with slight variation under different headings, e.g. (A. f 187 b. I. xiv. 742) = (A. f 249 a. I. xxv. 1152), while a quarter of the additional anecdotes occur in other parts, without much variation, in other old Mss. also, e.g. (A. f 183 b. I. xiii. 717) = (D. f 159 a. II. xvii. 1452). On these grounds it might be maintained that this Ms. accurately represents the first original draft of the author, and that there has been a revision, partial rearrangement, omission of recurring anecdotes and cutting short of the number of anecdotes in general, either by the author himself or by a learned copyist at a very early epoch, since **B.**, the next oldest Ms., dated 717 A.H., and **C.** and **D.** do not contain three-fourths of this additional material.

This Ms. like **C.** and **D.** does not exhibit any striking²⁾ features of orthography; but it contains, on the whole, some of the most predominant features of archaic spellings prevalent in the Persian transcripts of the 14th century A.D.³⁾ There is a very sparing use of even necessary dots, nor strictly consistent use of *Dhâl* for *Dâl* and *Kî* for *Kih*, as might be expected from the 14th century style of writing. As regards the textual value of the Ms., it can be said with certainty that it has undergone very few material changes; and to a great extent proper names, quotations and Arabic and Persian verses are correctly transcribed, and at times offer readings which approach the original; but still a greater accuracy is desirable which can be attained only by collation. As regards the choice of synonyms, the placing of conjunctions, the use of pronouns, adjectives and adverbs and the interchange of tenses, it is not easy to determine after a comparison with **B.** **C.** **D.** and **E.** which are the original wordings of the author, as often they express the same sense and preserve essentially

¹⁾ E.g. (A. f 185 b. I. xiii. 728), (A. f 215 b. I. xvii. 986), (A. f 235 b. I. xxi. 1081), (A. f 236 b. I. xxi. 1086), (A. f 246 a. I. xxiv. 1137-1138). Besides these, a few anecdotes in the chapter "On Poets" actually correspond with the accounts given by him in the *Lubâb*, e.g. (A. f 242 b. I. xxiii. 1124) = *Lubâb*, Pt. II, p. 22.

²⁾ Rarely *هستای* (f 196 a) for *گستای*; *نوشتروان* (f 75 b) for *نوشتران*; *ادریادکان* for *ادریایجان* (sic) for *چنگیزخان*.

³⁾ See for examples, Mîrzâ Muḥammad's Persian introduction to *Z. f. f.* p. ص Nos. 3, 4; p. صا Nos. 5, 6, 7; p. صب Nos. 8, 9, 10; p. صج Nos. 12, 13, inconsistently; also Dr. M. Iqbal's preface to the *Râḥatū'l-Ṣudūr* pp. xxxviii-xi, excepting Nos. 2, 4, 7, 11, 12, 13.

the substance of the narrative and the meaning of the sentence. A comparison of A., C. and D. is given below on p. 116, *n.* 1. Although this Ms. contains only a fourth part of the entire work, it was considered proper to establish the plan of a standard text on the basis of a Ms. which approaches much nearer the original, bears a date, and represents a much fuller text than is found in many of the complete but later and inaccurate Mss..

a.
B. = [Sup-
plément Persan
95, Bib. Nat.¹],
Paris].

Folios 289; size 36 by 26 cm.; lines 33 per page; dated; gilt frontispiece; margins; rubrications; border decoration at the beginning of each part²); archaic spellings; very good Naskhī; transpositions; most probably transcribed in Shīrāz for some royal library; various endorsements and seals of Turkish and other owners; acquired from the collection of Ducurroy (r) sometime before 1st August 1873. Contents: ff 16-149a, Pt. I: Preface, table of headings of the 100 chapters and chs. i-xxv; ff 149b-202a, Pt. II, chs. i-xxv; ff 202b-243b, Pt. III, chs. i-xxv; ff 244a-289b, Pt. IV, chs. i-xxv, in all a complete Ms.. In a short colophon at the end of the Ms. on f 289b the date of transcription is given as the middle of Jumāda'l-Ākhir 717 A. H. = August 1317 A. D.

This "*Exemplaire de Luxe*" codex of the *Ḥawāḍir* is the second oldest dated one, but unfortunately it is a shorter recension of the text in places, though not a completely abridged one. At times synonyms and elaborate expressions of the author are omitted and sentences are cut short; the comparison with A. and C. given below will illustrate the comparative value of the two texts³). There are no insertions in the text of B. as in F.. It sometimes offers better readings, but in the cases of proper names and Arabic citations it does not help us much, as there are many instances of evasive transcription. Excepting the additional anecdotes in Pt I of A., the number and order of the anecdotes in Pts. II-IV correspond exactly with other old Mss.⁴). Had it not been for its somewhat short recension, it would have served as a base for a complete text of the *Ḥawāḍir*; and for the same reason it is not adopted even as a companion Ms. like G., which, though later and undated, is not abridged. Since the 100th or the last chapter is defective in all other old 14th century Mss. like C., D. and G., this Ms. is adopted as the basis for that portion as will be noticed in the *Table of Contents*: Pt. IV, ch. xxv.

¹) This Ms. like the preceding one is registered in the hand-written "Catalogue du Supplément Persan", Vol. I, p. 96, but no description of it has yet been published.

²) See above, p. 5, where border headings are cited in evidence of the correct *Laqab* of al-ʿAwfī as *Sadīdu'd-Dīn*.

³) «رسی بود که هر سال ملوک سامان مالی خطر مرستادندی بکه و مدینه تا بهاوران دادندی و بر ایشان قسمت کردندی و انکس کی متولد آن شغل بودی بوقت مراجعت از عراق هدیه و طراشه عراق یاوردی احمد خوارزمی گفت.» with B. f 122b. «و رسی بود که ال سامان هر سال مالی خطر مرستادندی بکه و مدینه و بر ایشان قسمت کردندی احمد خوارزمی گفت.» and C. f 40b. «و رسی بود که آل سامان هر سال مالی خطر مرستادندی بکه و مدینه تا بهاوران دادندی و بر ایشان قسمت کردندی و انکس که متولد آن بودی بوقت مراجعت از عراق هدیه و طراشه عراق یاوردی احمد خوارزمی گفت.» Except for the addition of a few necessary diacritical points, these passages are copied as they are found in the texts

⁴) See below, the *Comparative Index* of the hundred chapters of the *Ḥawāḍir* on pp. 132-5.

3.
C. = [Or.
11 6855, Br.
Mus., London].

Folios 397; size 9.5 by 12 inches; lines 29 per page; undated: rubrications: margins; archaic spellings; cursive bold Naskhí; transpositions: ff 310-312 supplied by a later hand; edges damaged; defective in the beginning and at the end, thus in Pt. I, chs. i-iii and in Pt. IV, chs. xviii-xxv are entirely missing; bought of David Fetto in 1908. Contents: Pt. I, ch. iv-xi, Anecs. 140-596 on f 99a-f 204b; Pt. I, chs. xii-xxv, Anecs. 619-1182 on ff 205, f 2a-f 79b; Pt. II, chs. i-v, Anecs. 1183-1291 on f 79b-98b; Pt. II, chs. v-xxv, Anecs. 1291-1540 on f 206a-f 271a; Pt. III, chs. i-xxv, Anecs. 1541-1789 on f 271b-f 344a; Pt. IV, chs. i-xvii, Anecs. 1790-1969 on f 344b-f 397b. On account of serious transpositions a few anecdotes are missing from the chapters enumerated above.

On account of its textual accuracy and close agreement¹⁾ with A.²⁾ and D., and the ancientness of its transcription which falls within the 14th century A.D., this Ms. stands third in chronological order; but unfortunately owing to the absence of date and serious lacunae and transpositions it could not be adopted as the basis of the text even for the portions which are entirely preserved. This Ms. has always been consulted in cases of difficult readings and its contents are duly recorded in the *Comparative Index*; but the next Ms. *i.e.* D., offering a unique opportunity for the completion of the basis of the text for Pts. II-IV in conjunction with A., this Ms. is ignored for practical purposes.

4.
D. = [Or.
2676, Br. Mus.
London].

Folios 290; size 13.2 by 9 inches; 29 and 33 lines about 6.5 inches long; dated; gilt frontispiece; rubrications; margins and the first few chapters of Pt. II are damaged by water stains; archaic spellings, careless use of dots; clear, bold, beautiful Naskhí; written either at different times or by two different scribes; order of Pts. changed: Pt. IV, which is much older, comes first, then follow Pts. II and III; Pt. I is completely lost; at the end of Pt. III, on f 290a the dated colophon appears as Tuesday 22nd Ramadhán 732 A. H. (= June 1332 A.D.); acquired from the H. G. Keene collection, once belonged to a Mr. Gordon. For contents and other particulars, see Rieu Suppl. Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. pp. 245-7.

This Ms. though not so old and correct as A. or C. yet offers a unique opportunity of establishing a complete text together with A.. Thus, in a sense, A. and D. are complementary, that is to say, the first part which is entirely missing from D. can be supplied from A. which contains that part in full; and they are, in point of time, textual value and for purposes of reference and systematic study, incomparable. Although there are about seventeen complete Mss., each has its own defects, a few are not dated, while most of them belong to a much later period and contain a hopelessly corrupt text; therefore, only these two Mss. have been systematically followed in establishing a complete *Table of Contents* of the *Jawāmi* as regards the number and serial order of the anecdotes, though, for variants, other older and later Mss. have always

¹⁾ This Ms. has not been catalogued as yet; it is simply registered under the acquisitions of 1908 in the hand-written Descriptive List of Oriental Mss. 1902-1910, British Museum. Mr. Edward Edwards, the Assistant Keeper in the Oriental Department of the British Museum, has kindly directed the attention of the present writer to the antiquity of this Ms.

²⁾ *E.g.* A. f 18b = C. f 97b = D. f 116b. Il. v. 1283. See also for variants, below, p. 116 n. 1.

³⁾ Excepting for the additional anecdotes referred to above, pp. 112-3.

been consulted. The passage¹⁾ cited below will illustrate the comparative value of A., C. and D. In spite of a few variations, which are natural, and the careless use of dots and a few minor changes in the three texts which do not materially affect the sense, there is a close agreement amongst the three. As regards names of places and persons, Arabic citations, Persian verses and a consistent use of archaic spellings, much more accuracy is desirable, but in the absence of better readings this Ms. approaches much nearer the original than any of the later ones. Unless and until a better text than that in A. and D. is discovered, these two Mss. should always be given preference.

5.
E. = [O1.
4392, B1. Mus.,
London.

Folios 222; size 11 by 8 inches; 25 lines $6\frac{1}{8}$ inches long; dated; fair large Naskh; archaic spellings; serious transpositions of folios; edges damaged; written for the library of some great Wazir called Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn *Ṣayraf; copyist Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad at-Tustarī, colophon dated 2nd Jumādā II, 741 A. H. = Nov. 1341 A. D.; acquired from the Wallis Budge Collection. See for other particulars Rieu Suppl. Cat. Pers. Mss. pp. 247-8. This Ms. contains only the first ten chapters of Part I, and comprises more than 500 anecdotes; on f 210b appears the 534th anecdote of ch. x, Pt. I; owing to transpositions the order of the chapters is changed and a few anecdotes are missing. The textual value of this Ms. is very high, as the preserved portions offer excellent readings and have always been consulted in the preparation of the preceding chapters of the present work (e.g. see above, p. 51, n. 9, p. 52, n. 1). But unfortunately it cannot be taken into account either for arrangement or for a systematic study of the contents; hence it is ignored in the *Comparative Index* of the hundred chapters.

6.
F. = [P. and
A. 59] Jones
Ms., Ind. Off.,
London.

Folios 265; size 28 by 15.5 inches; 29 lines; headings of chapters in red; archaic spellings; well written old Naskh; undated; transcribed for some royal personage entitled Jamālu'l-Ḥaqq wa'd-Dīn, was once in possession of a Turkish owner Muṣṭafa Ṣadaḡī (sic). Sir William Jones' Ms. presented to the Royal Society, but now preserved in the India Office Library²⁾.

¹⁾ Happily a portion of Pt. II is preserved in A. which offers a chance of comparison with the same text in C. and D.: How Ya'qūb b. Layth weds his luck to sword and conquests, (A. f 18b = C. f 97b = D. f 116b. II. v. 1283). This passage is exactly copied from A. and collations are given from C. and D.

A. f 18b. «[حکایت]» آورد (n) اندکی (o) یعقوب لیث جون (d) از حد صبا (e) بعد بلوغ رسید بری (f) که نزدیکتر (g) اقارب (h) او بود او را گفت که خاطر (i) من بحال (j) تو ملفت (k) است دست سبائی (l) راست کن (m) تا کی را از هر تو بخوابم (n) یعقوب گفت انرا که من معواسم (o) دست بیان او راست کرده ام (p) بر گفت که من ترا استظهاری (q) غی دام (r) اگر دست بیان راست کرده بن نمای (s) تا به (t) پشم یعقوب بخانه رفت و شمشیری برون آورد (u) و گفت بدان ای پدر (v) که ملک مشرق و مغرب را خطبه خواهم کرد انرا (w) دست بیان (x) به ازین نیست، پست،

با نمفت (y) نیک هیچ کی را مستبر (z) نیست مهر عروس ملک محز (z1) تیغ تنز نیست

- (a) C. D. add. (b) C. D. آورد. (c, d) C. D. بجون instead. (e) D. صبی. (f) C. D. بری. (g) C. D. ملفت; متعلق C. (h) C. D. خاطر. (i) C. D. بحال. (j) C. D. نزدیکتر; نزدیک تر. (k) C. D. سبائی. (l) C. D. lacuna, damaged. (m) C. D. معواسم. (n) C. D. پشم. (o) C. D. دست بیان. (p) C. D. بر گفت. (q) C. D. استظهاری. (r) C. D. غی دام. (s) C. D. نمای. (t) C. D. تا به. (u) C. D. آورد. (v) C. D. پدر. (w) C. D. دست بیان. (x) D. پناه. (y) C. D. بجنت. (z) C. D. مستبر. (z1) C. D. تیغ تنز نیست.

²⁾ See "Cat. of two collections of Persian and Arabic Mss. preserved in the India Office Library", by E. Denison Ross and E. G. Browne, pp. vii, 53-4.

This apparently complete but undated Ms. is an abridged, revised and supplemented version of the *Jawāmi*⁷. On f 5a, in the original handwriting, the copyist and the recomplier whose name does not appear anywhere says that from a certain Ms. of this work a few other Mss. were transcribed; so it occurred to him that it would be suitable, if he supplemented each chapter with similar unique and authentic anecdotes¹). Consequently, additions of this nature are traceable throughout, e.g. Pt. I, ch. v. ff 74, an account of the Caliphate of Mustāṣim is given and it is brought down to the Sack of Baghdād by the Mongols [in 656 A.H. = 1258 A.D.], which anecdote is not found in any other Ms.; probably, indeed, the author did not live up to that time. Besides this, amongst other places, on f 135b it is written 'The author of the original, of which this is an abridgement, Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Awfī says'²). All the eulogies at the end of the chapters and many anecdotes are omitted. Apart from these insertions and abridgements the text is not of any material value; hence this Ms. is ignored in the preparation of the *Comparative Index* and the *Table of Contents*.

7. G. = [Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat. Paris³], as companion Ms. for all the four parts.

Folios 358; size 38 by 29 cm.; 34 lines per page; undated; rubrications, illuminated at the beginning of each part, and border decorations⁴); archaic spellings; bold and beautiful Naskh; pious formulas have once been effaced and again restored, evidently by a Sunnī; once in the possession of some Turk, now bears seals of the "Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal" and "Bibliothèque Imperiale", acquired sometime before 1877 A.D.

Contents: f 1b-f 3a, Preface of the author; f 3b-f 5a, a complete list of the hundred chapter-headings; f 5b-f 172b, Pt. I, chs. i-xxv, (except the 175 additional anecdotes found in A. only); f 173b-234a, Pt. II, chs. i-xxv; f 234b-f 290a, Pt. III, chs. i-xxv; f 290b-f 358b, Pt. IV, chs. i-xxv; undated colophons at the end of each part; the last two folios are supplied by a later hand, so that the original colophon and the last 30 anecdotes are entirely missing, which are supplied from B. in the *Table of Contents*. The date of the transcript is not known, but the first line from the *Būstān* of Sa'dī, and the Persian calligraphy, as surmised by Monsieur E. Blochet, suggest that this Ms. was written sometime during the 14th century A.D. Among the 14th century Mss., described here this is the only complete and reliable text of the *Jawāmi*⁵; although its accuracy can not be highly guaranteed, yet for the purpose of general reference it is incomparable; hence it is adopted as a

«و چون از آن نسخه چند نوشته شد در خاطر آمد که اگر در ذیل هر بابی موافق آن باب از نوادر حکایات الحاق کند چه
ارباب سخن احاض را اعتباری تمام نباده اند همانا لایق باشد هر بابی را نوادر مذیل آگردانید و از هر تبرک و تین تا مرغوب فیه
و مطلوب باشد ارا بنام مخدوم ملک اعظم صاحب معظم اعدل ملوک عالم شهریار ایران افتخار و نظام جهان جمال الحق والدین ضاعف
جلاله موخ گردانید تا از پرتو این نسبت این نسخه ملحوظ نظر اصحاب فضل شود» آنخ

¹) This is the only early record in a Ms. of the author's title as Nūru'd-Din, see above, p. 4, ff. 23-33.

²) This Ms. has not been catalogued as yet; it is simply registered in the hand-written list called "Catalogue des Manuscrits du Supplément Persan par M. Fagnan, Bib. Nat. Paris", p. 404.

³) At the top and bottom of ff 173 and 174 this verse is given: (a few necessary dots are supplied)

معایش کسم ایزد پاک را • که کویا و بیتا کند خاک را

and on f 234a and f 235b, the beginning couplet of the *Būstān*.

بام خلوند جان آفرین • حکیم سخن در زبان آفرین

companion Ms. throughout the *Table of Contents*, but the serial number of the anecdotes is established from A. and D. only, which form the bases of Pt. I, and II-IV respectively.

8. Folios 319 and 333, in two volumes; size 13 by 9.75 inches; 25 lines; dated; illuminated frontispiece at the beginning of each part, and gilt edges; clear medium Naskh; transcribed by an Indian, Darwīsh Alī Kātib; Pt. I in one volume and Pt. II-IV in the second; end of Pt. II is dated 832 A.H., and end of Part IV 833 A.H. = 1429/30 A.D.. See for a full description of its contents the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Bodleian Library, by Sachau and Ethé, No. 324, coll. 176-7.

H. = [Elliott 171 and 172, Bodl. Lib., Oxford].

This is the second complete and dated Ms., and is in fact the gem of the John Bardoe Elliott collection, and must be taken into consideration for collation purposes, as at times it offers valuable readings.

9. This Ms. is at present missing from the Edinburgh University Library. A full description of its contents is published in the "Descriptive Cat. Ar. Pers. Mss. in Edinburgh University Library" (1925) pp. 104-5, No. 119, where the statement about the author is erroneous. Here a description of it is copied for purposes of identification. Folios 380; 13 by 8 1/8 inches; 20 lines, each 5 inches long; written in good Naskh; illuminated frontispiece and gold-ruled margins; illustrated with 30 miniatures; bound in plain leather; dated 842-3 A.H. = 1439-40 A.D.. It contains all the four *Qisṣas*: Pt. I begins on f 16; Pt. II, on f 203b; Pt. III, on f 286b; and Pt. IV, on f 342. The list of chapter-headings is stated to have been given at the end of the Ms. Should this Ms. be eventually discovered, the readers of these pages are requested to communicate about it with the present writer.

Hbls = [Univ. Lib. Edin 119], (Baillie Ms.), Edinburgh.

10. Folios 355; size 9 3/4 by 6 1/8 inches; 25 lines; fairly large Nasta'liq, headings in red; bears a chronogram¹⁾ dated 896 A.H. = 1490/1 A.D., from which it is obvious that it was transcribed in Turkey for Qūrqud, the son of Sultan Bāyazīd II (r. 1481-1512), by Nīmatu'llah b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī. See for a description of its contents the Catalogue "Die arabischen, persischen, und türkischen Handschriften, Hofbibliothek zu Wien" by G. Flügel, Band I, pp. 410-2, where also the account of the dedication of the work is erroneous, as it appears to be entirely based on H. Khalfa; and Nathaniel Bland, probably following Flügel, has expressed his doubt about the identity of the author, thinking him to have dedicated the *Ḥawāṣi'* to the great wazīr of the Saljūqs the Nizāmu'l-Mulk (see also above, pp. 3-4).

I. = [Persisch 422, Hofbibliothek, Vienna].

This Ms. has not been personally examined by the present writer as yet, but it certainly deserves attention, as it is the fourth complete and dated text; hence it is duly recorded in the *Chronological Table*.

The seven Petrograd Mss.

The present writer's information about the seven Petrograd Mss., viz. I bis, L bis, M bis, Pet. 1.-Pet. 4., is partly based on the references to and extracts from the *Ḥawāṣi'* given by Prof. Barthold, and partly on the kind communication of Mr. Ignaz Kratchkovski²⁾. The former has utilised in several of his studies four out of the

¹⁾ On f 355a: تاریخ تمام کلمات غوامی * برخوان توربان کتاب قورقود بدان

²⁾ The present writer is indebted to Mr. F. Krenkow for kindly obtaining information about the last four Petrograd Mss. from Mr. Kratchkovski.

seven Mss., viz. I bis, L bis, M bis, and Pet. 1. Firstly in the *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya*.... *Arkheol. Obshchestva* etc. Vol. IX, 1895, pp. 262-7, he gives an extract from the *Ḥawāmī* (D. f 67a. IV. xvi. 1967) concerning the ancient Russians, where in the footnote (No. 1) to p. 262, he briefly mentions the Mss. he has utilised, three of which are the same Petrograd Mss., viz. I bis, L bis, M bis, again utilised by him in his second work, the *Turkistān* (Vol. I. pp. 83-101, Vol. II. p. 37). Then in his article "Zur Geschichte der Saffariden" in the *Noldke-Festschrift* (Band I, p. 176, n. 3), referred to above on pp. 31, 46, he gives a note about the fourth Petrograd Ms., viz. Pet. 1., of the Asiatic Museum No. 581aa. The information collected from the above works about these four Mss. is recorded according to their relative position in this *Descriptive list*.

11.
I bis = [Imp.
Sank. Univ.
648¹⁾], Petro-
grad.

This Ms. contains more than 160 folios, and the first part is altogether missing from it. Although it is undated, it is very old; from the archaic spellings we might suppose it was written in the 14th or 15th century A.D.. From a comparison of the cited anecdote²⁾ (D. f 70a. IV. xvii. 1974) with the text given in *Turkistān* (Vol. I. pp. 100-101) it appears that its text is in close agreement with D., and that the Ms. contains a fairly reliable text, so far as it is preserved, and offers good variants and is worth close examination.

12.
J. = [Add.
16,862, Br.
Mus., London].

Folios 392; size 13¹/₂ by 8 inches; 33 lines; undated; written in small Naskh, apparently in the 16th century A.D. for some royal library with *Ṭunūṣ* and gold margins; on the fly-leaf is a note written in Bijāpūr, India; acquired from the William Yule Collection. See for a full description of its contents and for a short monograph on the author, Rieu Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II. pp. 749-51.

Although this is the fifth complete Ms., its textual value is very small indeed. As regards proper names, quotations, cited verses and difficult passages it is extremely unreliable. The copyist has either carelessly imitated the original or the copy from which this Ms. was transcribed was hopelessly defective and mutilated. Not only that the order of some of the anecdotes is altered, but in a few chapters in the first part, and in the middle of almost all the chapters in the third and fourth part, a few anecdotes are always missing. Evidently this is the trick of the scribe who wanted to pass off his transcript as a complete one. Hence it is neither suitable for arrangement of anecdotes nor for purposes of systematic study.

13.
K. = [Or.
236, Br. Mus.
London].

Folios 541; size 11¹/₂ by 8 inches; 29 lines; transpositions; written in Naskh, apparently in the 16th century A.D.; bears seals of the royal libraries of Sulaymān Jāh and Amjad 'Alī Shāh of Lakhnaw; the beginning (ff 3-18) and the end (ff 536-541) are older than the body of the text, that portion was transcribed, as stated at the end (f 541a), from a Ms. dated 712 A.H. = 1312/3 A.D., acquired from the George William Hamilton Collection. See Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II. p. 751.

This is the sixth complete Ms.; its textual value cannot be rated very high, but it is of course much more correct and helpful than J.. The number and order of the anecdotes is almost the same as in other older Mss. except A.. The older and

1) See C. Salemann and V. Rosen, "Indices... Codd.... Universitatis Petropolitanae, (1888), p. 13, where this Ms. is simply listed.

2) See above, Notice No. (10), p. 44, ll. 11-15.

worm-eaten portion in bad Nasta'liq offers excellent readings and is very useful for the collation of the Preface and the 100th chapter which are defective in the 14th century A. D. Mss. except B.

¹⁴
L. = [Ind.
Off. 595, (Ethé
cat No 600),
London].

Folios 546; size 11¹/₈ by 6¹/₄ inches; 27 lines; undated; small Nasta'liq; ff 405-447 supplied later by another hand; collations in some places; from Richard Johnson's Collection in the Library of the East India Company; on a blank leaf is written in old English handwriting: "brought by Mr. R. Smith from Persia"; (as the handwriting of this Ms. is distinctly Indian in style, it is quite likely that this copy was once transported to Persia, and thence from India to the India Office Library¹⁾); amongst other endorsements there is one on f 1a dated as early as 1073 A. H. = 1663 A. D., but to all appearance this Ms. was transcribed earlier than that date, therefore it is reckoned among the 16th century A. D. Mss. in the *Chronological Table*. See Cat. Pers. Mss. Ind. Off. Lib., by Ethé, coll. 245-6.

This is the seventh complete Ms., but its textual value is very low, as on close examination it is found wanting in many respects. Not to speak of the diacritical points and numerous careless repetitions and omissions, proper names, difficult passages and Arabic and Persian verses are very badly copied; but the text is not distorted for purposes of elucidation.

As centuries pass the caligraphy and accuracy of the Mss. here listed deteriorate. All the 14th century Mss. show archaic spellings and beautiful Naskh and are comparatively reliable transcripts, while the 15th century Mss. though written in good Naskh are not so correct; in those of the 16th century Nasta'liq is common and archaic spellings have completely disappeared and the texts are very inaccurate; while most of the later Mss. grow even worse from textual as well as caligraphic points of view.

¹⁵
L. bis = [Imp.
Publ. Bib. IV.
2. 33]. Petro.
grad.

The second Petrograd Ms. is preserved in the Public Library. It is also undated and contains more than 408 folios and appears to be almost complete. Its textual value is determined, firstly, from the three anecdotes exclusively copied from this Ms. in the *Turkistán* pp. 88-9 = *Jawami'* (A. f 85b. I. xiii. 728), (A. f 203b. I. xvi. 850) and (A. f 207b. I. xvi. 905); secondly, from other extracts which are missing from it *e.g.* *Turkistán* pp. 100-101 = (D. f 70b. IV. xvii. 1974); and thirdly from a comparison of its text with the corresponding portions in A. C. and D.. From the first point, it appears that it contains some additional anecdotes (*e.g.* 728) which have hitherto been exclusively found in A.. From the second point, it can indirectly be inferred that this Ms. either omits or has a lacuna of some anecdotes which are found in the oldest Mss. (*e.g.* 1974). From the last process, it is certain that at times this Ms. gives a shorter recension like B. and differs slightly in its readings from A. C. and D.; but on the whole it is a fairly good text and is worth a closer study; it probably belongs to the 16th century A. D.

¹⁶
M. = [Add.
7672, Br. Mus.,
London].

Folios 252; size 10¹/₈ by 7 inches; 22 lines; dated; cursive Nasta'liq; acquired from the Cl. J. Rich Collection. See Cat. Pers. Mss. Br. Mus. Vol. II, p. 751.

This Ms. contains only Pts. III and IV and is well preserved and bears a

¹⁾ Both the India Office Mss. were kindly sent on loan for the use of the present writer at the University Library, Cambridge.

comparatively accurate text which is helpful for the purposes of reference and collation.

17.
Mbls = [Imp.
Publ. Bib. V. 4.
31], Petrograd.

The third Petrograd Ms. is also in the Public Library. It is dated 1032 A.H. = 1622/3 A.D. and contains more than 396 folios which comprise all the four parts, but does not offer very valuable readings and appears to be a mediocre Ms.

18.
N. = [Elliot
169, Bodl. Lib.,
Oxford].

Folios 533; size 12 by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; 25 lines; illuminated frontispiece; Nasta'liq; occasional notes and glosses on the margin; dated 1042 A.H. = 1632 A.D. At the end on f 533a, there is added a description of Isfahán. See for other particulars Cat. Pers. Mss. Bodl. Lib., by Sachau and Ethé, col. 177, No. 325. Except for the Preface which is defective at the beginning, this is the tenth complete Ms., and is also amongst those collected by J. B. Elliott and now preserved in the Bodleian 10

19.
O. = [Elliot
173, Bodl. Lib.,
Oxford].

Folios 467; size 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 8 inches; 25 lines; Nasta'liq; dated 1049 A.H. = 1639 A.D.. This is another Ms. of the J. B. Elliott collection among the 17th century Mss. of the *Fawá'id*. Except for a lacuna in the first part, it is the eleventh complete Ms., and like the other later ones is not worth much consideration. See Cat. Pers. Mss. Bodl. Lib. col. 177 No. 326. 15

20.
P. = [Schind-
ler Ms.], Prof.
Browne, Cam-
bridge.

Folios 404, ff 35, 154, 338 are numbered twice, thus the total number of folios is really 407; size 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches; 25 lines; small legible Nasta'liq; rubrications; colophon (f 404a) dated 27th Muharram 1059 A.H. = Jan.-Feb. 1649 A.D., copied by 'Abdu'r-Rahím b. Muḥammad Niyásar¹⁾ (*sic*); on f 1a an endorsement by Prof. Browne: "From the Library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. Bought from 20 his heirs, January 5th, 1917. Edward G. Browne²⁾". Contents: f 1b-f 214b, Pt. I, chs. i-xxv; f 214b-f 287b, Pt. II, chs. i-xxv; f 287b-f 349b, Pt. III, chs. i-xxv; f 349b-f 404a, Pt. IV, chs. i-v, vii-xxv (after f 356b a few leaves are missing, so that there is a lacuna of chs. v, vi, vii; and f 364b is left blank; and 33 anecdotes are missing from the last chapter, after f 404). 25

This apparently complete Ms. is defective in other respects also. In the body of the text, every now and then, a few anecdotes are found wanting, and the scribe has purposely omitted such anecdotes as contained the praiseworthy actions of the first three Caliphs (*e.g.* A. f 170b. I. xii. 667; cf. P. f 151a), has changed the author's introduction to the chapter "On the Caliphs" Pt. I, v. f 62a, and has altered the 30 pious formulas according to Shí'a belief. The textual value of this Ms. is very uncertain, as proper names, quotations and Arabic and Persian verses are very inaccurately transcribed. The present writer, through the admirable generosity of Prof. Browne, was enabled to work upon this Ms. for the last four years and has established the correct number and order of the anecdotes after comparing it with the 14th century 35 Mss. according to the *Table of Contents*. (Anecdotes missing from this Ms. are marked with an asterisk on the margin of this Ms.).

21.
Q. = [Fraser
125, Bodl. Lib.,
Oxford].

Folios 731; 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ by 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches; 23 lines; clear and distinct Nasta'liq; dated 1061 A.H. = 1651 A.D.; written in Burhānpūr, India. Contents: Pt. I, begins on f 8a; Pt. II, on f 384a; Pt. III, on f 505a; Pt. IV, on f 612b. This is the twelfth 40

¹⁾ Probably of Niyástar, a fortress between Káshán and Qum, see *Y.M.B.* Vol. IV, p. 854.

²⁾ See his article "The Persian Manuscripts of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler", in *JRAS.* (1917), pp. 657-94; IX. Anecdotes (No. 57).

³⁾ See for other particulars about Q.-T., Cat. Bodl. Library, Oxford, Nos. 327-330, coll. 177-9.

complete Ms. among the ones described here, but like the following ones is mediocre.

22.
R. = [Elliott
174, Bodl. Lib.,
Oxford].

Folios 425; size $12\frac{3}{4}$ by 8 inches; 25 lines; Naskh; illuminated frontispiece; dated 1067 A.H. = 1657 A.D., Lahore. Contents Pt. I, begins on f 16; Pt. II, on f 226a; Pt. III, on f 291a; Pt. IV, on f 357a. This is the thirteenth complete Ms., and bears the signature of Gore Ouseley on f 16 at the top of the decorations. 5

23.
S. = [Elliott
170, Bodl. Lib.,
Oxford].

Folios 478; size 12 by 8 inches; 18 lines; Nasta'liq; undated. Contents: Pt. II, begins on f 16; Pt. III, on f 157b; Pt. IV, on f 310a.

24.
T. = [Ouseley
361, Bodl. Lib.,
Oxford].

Originally 294 folios, as is mentioned in Arabic numbers, but a few leaves are missing at present from the beginning and at the end; size $13\frac{1}{4}$ by $7\frac{1}{8}$ inches; 23 lines; Naskh; written on a dark brown paper; undated; but apparently of the 16th or 17th century A.D. This copy once belonged to Sir William Ouseley, as there are several notes in his hand on the fly-leaf. Among others one is important as it identifies his brother's (*viz.* Gore Ouseley's) Ms. which ultimately went over to the J. B. Elliott collection, and is described above as R., being the 22nd Ms. in this *Descriptive List*. This Ms. is fragmentary and contains a major portion of the first part. It begins 15 from the middle of the first chapter of the first part and goes on to the earlier portion of ch. xxi, where in the middle of f 290a it abruptly starts with ch. xxv. It cannot be relied on for reference. (Cf. Ouseley's Cat. Mss. etc. (1831), p. 16, No. 532).

25.
U. = [Crawford 81, John
Rylands Lib.,
Manchester].

Folios 251; size 280 by 173 mm.; 24 lines; undated; rubrications; margins; "good Indian Naskh of about 1650 A.D."; once in the Bland collection, No. 303, 20 then transferred to the Crawford collection, No. 81, and now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Contents: (Pt. I completely missing); f 16-f 134a, Pt. II, chs. i-xxv; f 134b-224b, Pt. III, chs. i-xxv; f 225b-251a, Pt. IV, chs. i-xi (defective). See *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, (1898), p. 124.

The present writer is indebted to the courtesy of Dr. H. Guppy, the Chief 25 Librarian of the John Rylands Library, and of Dr. A. Mingana for the above description. Like the other 17th century group of Mss., it appears to contain an ordinary and unreliable text.

26.
V. = [Quatremère 35,
Munich¹⁾].

Folios 486; size 34.5 by 22 cm.; 27 lines; good Nasta'liq; undated. Contents: Pt. I begins on f 3; Pt. II, on f 252b; Pt. III, on f 332b; Pt. IV, on f 410b. This is 30 a complete but modern and mediocre Ms.

27.
W. = [Quatremère 53,
Munich].

Folios 345; size 27 by 15 cm.; 19 lines; good Nasta'liq; undated; contents: Pts. II-IV. This Ms. is similar to the one above-mentioned.

28.
X. = [Naaman's Ms.],
Prof. Biowne,
Cambridge.

Folios 396; Nasta'liq; undated; probably written in Turkey about the 18th century; bought by Prof. Browne from Naaman; contents: Pt. I only. This Ms. is modern and 35 the text is very unreliable.

29.
Y. = [Supplément Persan
96, Bib. Nat.,
Paris²⁾].

This is an unfinished, incomplete and undated Ms. written in beautiful small Nasta'liq, probably in the 17th or 18th century A.D.. It contains the first 15 chapters of Pt. I, and other folios are left blank. The text as far as it goes is fairly correct.

¹⁾ See for other particulars about V. and W., Cat. "Die persischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen" by J. Aumer, (1866), No. 180, pp. 56-7.

²⁾ This Ms. and the next one are not catalogued as yet, but they are simply registered in the handwritten "Cat. du Supplément persan", Vol. I, p. 96.

30.
Z. = Sup-
plement(Persan
97, Bib Nat.,
Paris).

Folios 543; size 30 by 20 cm.; bad Nasta'liq, rubrications; bought in Lakhnaw by some Frenchman about 1771 A.D.; apparently it is an 18th century Ms., transcribed in India; contents: Pt. I, chs. i-xxv. The text is extremely incorrect.

31.
Pet. 1. =
[Asia. Muz.
581 aa], Petro-
grad.

Then the fourth Petrograd Ms. is in the Asiatic Museum. It is dated 1251 A.H. = 1835/6 A.D. and contains only the first part which covers 369 folios. This is a very late and unreliable Ms., as Prof. Barthold himself remarks in his article on the Šaffárids, referred to above on p. 119, ll. 6-9.

32.
Pet. 2. =
[Asia Muz.
581 aa-], Pe-
tograd.

There is another Ms. in the same Museum, which is also dated 1261 A.H. = 1845 A.D. It contains 477 folios which comprise all the four parts.

33.
Pet. 3. =
[Asia. Muz.
581 aa-], Pe-
tograd.

Yet another undated Ms. of 209 folios containing only the third part is also preserved in the same Museum.

34.
Pet. 4. =
[Imp. Sank.
Univ. -], Petro-
grad.

An abridged and valueless Ms. is preserved in the University Library of Petrograd. Pet. 1.—Pet. 4. are very modern Mss., hence deserve very little consideration.

35.
Núr. 1. =
[Núr-i-'Uṭhmá-
niyya 3272,
Constantino-
ple] ¹).

No description of this Ms. is available at present. Probably it is the same Ms. which Flügel has mentioned (*H. Khalfa* Vol VII, p. 286, No. 1242) in his list of the Núr-i-'Uṭhmáníyya Library. It is now numbered 3272 in the Catalogue of the same Library, where Jamálu'd-Dín²) Muḥammad al-'Awfī is mentioned as the author. Probably this Ms. is responsible for the mistake of Flügel and other orientlists about the title of the author.

36.
Núr. 2. =
[Núr-i-'Uṭhma-
niyya 3273,
Constantino-
ple].

In the same library are preserved the abridged version of the *Ḥawāmī*^c by Muḥammad³) b. As'ad at-Tustarī al-Ḥanafī (No. 3273), and two unidentified Turkish versions (Nos. 3232 and 3274). All these Ms. require a thorough investigation in order to determine their textual value.

37.
(Unknown)

This Ms. contains Pt. I only with miniatures. It was brought over "from the East" for sale; Mírzá Muḥammad Khán of Qazwín has seen it in Paris, and about 1922 or 1923 A.D. it was offered by Messrs. Luzac & Co. of London to Prof. E. G. Browne for £ 50 and sent to Cambridge, where the present writer has seen it, but unfortunately could not examine it closely. It appeared to be a 16th or 17th century A.D. Ms.. It is not known when and where it was sold, and in whose possession it remains at the present date. This Ms. like H bis is interesting for the paintings which it contains.

Mss. of the
pseudo-*Ḥawā-
mī'u'l-Hikdyāt*

During the investigation of the various Mss. of the *Ḥawāmī*^c u'l-*Hikdyāt* of al-'Awfī, a number of other works of a slightly different but deceptive title have come to the notice of the present writer. They are known as *Ḥāmī*^c u'l-*Hikdyāt*, a title with which the *Ḥawāmī*^c of al-'Awfī has been erroneously designated by some later authors. In the first place the translation of *Faraj ba'd ash-Shidda* by Ḥusayn b. As'ad, discussed previously, has been designated briefly by some writers as *Ḥāmī*^c u'l-*Hikdyāt*. Secondly there exist a few other later works of fictitious tales differing in their contents, but

¹) See the *Daftar-i-Kutub-Khāna-i-Núr-i-'Uṭhmáníyya* (Stambúl, 1303 A.H.) pp. 184, 186, Nos. 3232; 3272-4.

²) See above, p. 4, ll. 12-22.

³) See above, p. 31, ll. 19-20; also *H. T. G.* (facs.) p. 811, where this Tustarī is mentioned as a contemporary of the (Mongol ū Khán) Sultan Ūljáytú (reigned 1305-16 A.D.).

all of them known as *Ḥāmi' u'l-Ḥikāyat*. Two Mss. containing tales of this kind are described by Ethé in the India Office Cat. No. 797-8. Some of these tales are stated to have been borrowed from the *Ḥawāṣi'* of 'Awfī, but they have very little resemblance to it. Another Ms. of a similar nature is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, see W. Ivanow, Cat. Pers. Mss. No. 301. Yet another work containing tales of unhistorical nature, namely, the "Story of Ashraf Khān the king of Khurāsān", is noticed by Dorn in the "Cat. des Manuscrits et Xylographes Orientaux de la Bib. Imp. Publique de St. Pétersbourg p. 410, No. CDLXXII. Another copy of the same work is mentioned in the "Cat. of several hundred Manuscript Works in various Oriental Languages, collected by Sir W. Ouseley", p. 13, Nos. 442 and 443. 10 Another complete work in four volumes¹⁾, similar to the India Office Mss. (cf. the titles of the tales), is preserved in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society's Library; see a Cat. of Mss. etc. published in JRAS, XXIV, (1892) pp. 543-4, Nos. 334-7. All these works have very little in common with the *Ḥawāṣi'* of 'Awfī.

¹⁾ William H. Morley in his manuscript "Cat. of the Mss. etc. (1858)" No. 258, p. 155, after giving short descriptions of these volumes, writes about the fourth one: "This volume contains a curious connected collection of tales, which is thus mentioned in a very copious preface. 'This book is named the Sindbād' [f 2a]". In fact f 1a-f 117b of this Ms. contain Bahā'u'd-Dīn az-Zahrī's version of the *Sindbād-nāma* and can be utilised as a second copy to [Or. 255, Br. Mus.], see above, Notice No. (25)a, pp. 72-4.

This and the next chapter have been revised by Mr. C. A. Storey, who has obliged the present writer with valuable suggestions.

CHAPTER V.

A *COMPARATIVE INDEX* OF THE HUNDRED
CHAPTERS OF THE *JA WÁMI'U'L-ḤIKÁYÁT* BASED
ON THE 14TH CENTURY A.D. MSS.

WITH A *LIST OF THE 100 CHAPTER-HEADINGS* IN THE ORIGINAL,
AND A *KEY TO THE COMPARATIVE INDEX*.

(pp. 125-135).

¹⁾ (Footnote to p. 127) **A.**, *i.e.* Ancien Fonds Persan 75, does not contain a complete list of the hundred chapter-headings; probably it formed part of the original transcript, which is missing, and the later hand that supplied the preceding General Preface has given on f 21 b thirteen chapter-headings only (Nos. 87—97 and 100); hence **G.**, *i.e.* Suppl. Persan 906, which contains a complete list of the 100 chapter-headings on f 3 b—f 5 a, has been adopted as the basis of the text of this list; and **B.**, *i.e.* Suppl. Persan 95, which also contains a similar complete list of 100 chapters (f 4 a—f 5 b), has also been used side by side. The wordings of the chapter-headings in **B** and **G** almost correspond in essentials, hence no variants are given. Most of the words are vocalised in both the Mss. for ornamental purposes, but here a few necessary diacritical marks are added and spellings are modernised. In the body of the text these headings are expanded by the author. In the accompanying *Comparative Index* they have been very much shortened for the sake of conciseness in reference, as is explained in the *Key to the Index* (see below, p. 131).

افهرست ابواب جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الروایات¹⁾
 G. f 36=B. f 4a. قسم اول [از کتاب جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الروایات]
 در معرفت آفریدگار تعالی و تقدس و ذکر انبیاء و اولیاء و تواریح و مآثر ملوک
 مشتمل بر بیست و پنج باب

در معرفت آفریدگار تعالی و تقدس	(۱) باب اول از قسم اول
در معجزات انبیاء علیهم السلام	(۲) باب دوم از قسم اول
در کرامات اولیاء رضوان الله عنهم	(۳) باب سوم از قسم اول
در تواریح ملوک عجم و دولت ایشان	(۴) باب چهارم از قسم اول
در تاریخ خلفاء و مآثر ایشان	(۵) باب پنجم از قسم اول
در فضیلت عدل	(۶) باب ششم از قسم اول
در سیر ملوک و اخلاق ایشان	(۷) باب هفتم از قسم اول
در لطایف کلمات ملوک و سلاطین	(۸) باب هشتم از قسم اول
در سیاست پادشاهان	(۹) باب نهم از قسم اول
در توفیعات پادشاهان	(۱۰) باب دهم از قسم اول
در فراست ارباب کیاست	(۱۱) باب یازدهم از قسم اول
در فوائد راهبهای صایب	(۱۲) باب دوازدهم از قسم اول
در مکرهایی که ارباب رأی کرده اند	(۱۳) باب سیزدهم از قسم اول
در سیر وزراء و پرداخت معاملات	(۱۴) باب چهاردهم از قسم اول
در مواظبت علماء و زهاد	(۱۵) باب پانزدهم از قسم اول
در جوابهای شافی که خداوندان عقل گفته اند	(۱۶) باب شانزدهم از قسم اول
در لطایف حکایات قضاة و علماء و اشارات ایشان	(۱۷) باب هفدهم از قسم اول
در نوادر دیران و حکایات ایشان	(۱۸) باب هجدهم از قسم اول
در نوادر ندیمان و حکایات ایشان	(۱۹) باب نوزدهم از قسم اول
در حکایات طیبیان و غیره	(۲۰) باب بیستم از قسم اول
در لطایف احکام معتران	(۲۱) باب بیست و یکم از قسم اول
در لطایف حکایات منجمان	(۲۲) باب بیست و دوم از قسم اول
در حکایات شعراء و شعرهاییکه در بدیهه گفته اند	(۲۳) باب بیست و سوم از قسم اول
در حکایات مفتیان	(۲۴) باب بیست و چهارم از قسم اول
در لطایف حکایات زیرکان نیز فهم و ذکر ایشان	(۲۵) باب بیست و پنجم از قسم اول

¹⁾ See the opposite page (126).

افهرستِ ابوابِ جوامعِ الحکایات و لوامعِ الروایات
 G. f 4a = B. f 4b. قسم دوم از کتابِ جوامعِ الحکایات و لوامعِ الروایات
 در بیانِ اخلاقی حمیده و سیرِ مرضیه
 مشتمل بر بیست و پنج باب

در فضیلتِ حیا	(۲۶) باب اول از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ تواضع و فوایدِ آن	(۲۷) باب دوم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ عنو و ذکرِ آن	(۲۸) باب سوم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ حلم	(۲۹) باب چهارم از قسم دوم
در علوّ همت و ذکرِ آن	(۳۰) باب پنجم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ ادب و ذکرِ آن	(۳۱) باب ششم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ رحمت و شفقت	(۳۲) باب هفتم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ توکل و ذکرِ آن	(۳۳) باب هشتم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ سخاوت و ذکرِ آن	(۳۴) باب نهم از قسم دوم
در بیانِ لطف و کرم	(۳۵) باب دهم از قسم دوم
در اکرام الضیف	(۳۶) باب یازدهم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ شجاعت	(۳۷) باب دوازدهم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ صبر و حکایاتِ صابران	(۳۸) باب سیزدهم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ شکر و حکایاتِ شاکران	(۳۹) باب چهاردهم از قسم دوم
در حزم و اندیشه و فوایدِ آن	(۴۰) باب پانزدهم از قسم دوم
در زهد و ورع و فوایدِ آن	(۴۱) باب شانزدهم از قسم دوم
در جد و جهد و فضیلتِ آن	(۴۲) باب هفدهم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ سکوت و نطق	(۴۳) باب هجدهم از قسم دوم
در وفا و حسنِ عهد و فضیلتِ آن	(۴۴) باب نوزدهم از قسم دوم
در اصلاحِ ذاتِ الین و صلّهِ رحم	(۴۵) باب بیستم از قسم دوم
در کتمانِ سرّ و فوایدِ آن	(۴۶) باب یست و یکم از قسم دوم
در امانت داری و فوایدِ آن	(۴۷) باب بیست و دوم از قسم دوم
در بیانِ مکارمِ اخلاق	(۴۸) باب بیست و سوم از قسم دوم
در فضیلتِ ثبات و ذکرِ آن	(۴۹) باب بیست و چهارم از قسم دوم
در فوایدِ مشورت و عوایدِ استبداد و ذکرِ آن	(۵۰) باب بیست و پنجم از قسم دوم

[فهرست ابواب جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الروایات]

قسم سوّم از کتاب جوامع الحکایات و لوامع الروایات G. f 4b = B. f 5a.

در بیان اخلاق مذمومه

مشمّل بر بیست و پنج باب

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| در اختلاف طایع انسان | (۵۱) باب اوّل از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت حسد و حکایات حاسدان | (۵۲) باب دوّم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت حرص و بیان احوال حریصان | (۵۳) باب سوّم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت طمع و ردّ بلیت آن | (۵۴) باب چهارم از قسم سوّم |
| در حکایات دزدان و نوادر ایشان | (۵۵) باب پنجم از قسم سوّم |
| در لطایف حکایات گدایان | (۵۶) باب ششم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت دروغ و فواید صدق | (۵۷) باب هفتم از قسم سوّم |
| در ذکر جماعتی که دعوی پیغمبری کردند بدروغ | (۵۸) باب هشتم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت بخل و حکایات بخیلان | (۵۹) باب نهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت خلف وعده و نقض عهد | (۶۰) باب دهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت جهل و حکایات جاهلان | (۶۱) باب یازدهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت ظلم و ذکر پادشاهان ظالم | (۶۲) باب دوازدهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت فظاظت و درشت خوئی | (۶۳) باب سیزدهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت خساست و دنات همت | (۶۴) باب چهاردهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت اسراف و تبذیر | (۶۵) باب پانزدهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت خیانت در ملک و مال | (۶۶) باب شانزدهم از قسم سوّم |
| در ذکر جماعتی که ناحنظی پیشه کردند | (۶۷) باب هفدهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت کفران نعمت | (۶۸) باب هژدهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت نمائی و غمز و سعایت | (۶۹) باب نوزدهم از قسم سوّم |
| در مذمت تعجیل و فواید تأنی | (۷۰) باب بیستم از قسم سوّم |
| در ذکر جماعتی بی اعتقاد [و] بداصل | (۷۱) باب بیست و یکم از قسم سوّم |
| در ذکر زنان زیرک و لطایف اقوال ایشان | (۷۲) باب بیست و دوم از قسم سوّم |
| در ذکر زنان پارساء نیکو سیرت | (۷۳) باب بیست و سوم از قسم سوّم |
| در ذکر زنان ناپارساء ناحنظ | (۷۴) باب بیست و چهارم از قسم سوّم |
| در حکا[یا]ت مکرهای زنان و کیدهای ایشان | (۷۵) باب بیست و پنجم از قسم سوّم |

[فهرستِ ابوابِ جوامعِ الحکایات و لوامعِ الروایات]¹⁾

قسم چهارم از کتابِ جوامعِ الحکایات و لوامعِ الروایات G. f 5a = B. f 5b.

در بیانِ احوالِ صادر و عجایبِ بحار [و] بلاد و طبایعِ حیوانات

مشمول بر بیست و پنج باب

در فواید خدمتِ ملوک	(۷۶) باب اول از قسم چهارم
در عواید خدمتِ پادشاهان	(۷۷) باب دوم از قسم چهارم
در معنی خوف و رجا	(۷۸) باب سوم از قسم چهارم
در فضیلتِ تأثیر دعا	(۷۹) باب چهارم از قسم چهارم
در دعواتِ مأثورہ [که] یاد کرده شود	(۸۰) باب پنجم از قسم چهارم
در عجایبِ فالها و تأثیر آن	(۸۱) باب ششم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ جماعتی که بورطه هلاک در ماندند و خلاص یافتند	(۸۲) باب هفتم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ جماعتی که از دستِ دزدان خلاص یافتند	(۸۳) باب هشتم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ جماعتی که از جنگِ سبع خلاص یافتند	(۸۴) باب نهم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ کسانی که بورطه عشق در ماندند و برادر نرسیدند	(۸۵) باب دهم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ جماعتی که عاشق شدند و برادر رسیدند	(۸۶) باب یازدهم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ جماعتی که بورطه هلاک افتادند و خلاص یافتند	(۸۷) باب دوازدهم از قسم چهارم
در عجایبِ قضا و قدر [و موافقتِ بخت و مخالفتِ آن]	(۸۸) باب سیزدهم از قسم چهارم
در غرایبِ خلقت و نوادر [بیت]	(۸۹) باب چهاردهم از قسم چهارم
در اعیانِ حیوانات و ذکرِ طول و عرض آن	(۹۰) باب پانزدهم از قسم چهارم
در بیانِ مسالک و ممالک و ذکرِ صُروم و جُروم	(۹۱) باب شانزدهم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ روم و حبشه و هند	(۹۲) باب هفدهم از قسم چهارم
در غرایبِ بناهای عجایب	(۹۳) باب هجدهم از قسم چهارم
در عجایبِ طلسمات	(۹۴) باب نوزدهم از قسم چهارم
در خواصِ اشیاء [و عجایبِ تأثیر ایشان]	(۹۵) باب بیستم از قسم چهارم
در طبایعِ بهائم و وحوش	(۹۶) باب بیست و یکم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ سبعِ ضاری	(۹۷) باب بیست و دوم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ حیواناتِ غریب	(۹۸) باب بیست و سوم از قسم چهارم
در ذکرِ غرایبِ طیور	(۹۹) باب بیست و چهارم از قسم چهارم
در طَرَفی از ظَرَف و مَلَح و مَزَل	(۱۰۰) باب بیست و پنجم از قسم چهارم

¹⁾ Cf. Flugel, Cat. Wien, Band I, pp. 411—2, where a complete list of these headings is also given.

KEY TO THE COMPARATIVE INDEX.

A., B., C., D., G. are the Mss. that represent in chronological order the extant portions of the *Ḥawāmī'ū'l-Hikāyat* in the oldest 14th century A. D. texts, upon which the accompanying *Index* is based. The underlined letter indicates the Ms. used as the basis of the text for that particular Part. A. and D. being the basis of a projected text of Pt. I and II—IV respectively, other Mss. are subordinated, and corresponding folio numbers of the beginning of each chapter are arranged in vertical columns underneath the letter of the alphabet representing the Ms.

Grand Chapter Numeral: The entire work consists originally of four parts or *Qisms*, each divided into 25 chapters or *Bābs*; for standardising this *Index* and the *Table of Contents* it is regarded as a single whole divided into 100 chapters, each of which is denoted by a grand chapter numeral (*e.g.* LXVI would signify the 16th chapter in Pt. III), although such numeration is not given by the author.

Serial Numbers of Anecdotes: In order to standardise the reference to a particular anecdote occurring in any of the hundred chapters of the *Ḥawāmī'*, this serial number of anecdotes is maintained throughout the entire work, irrespective of the division of the work into parts and chapters. Nearly 20 Mss. were utilised for this purpose, but that Ms. alone is recognised for the order of succession and numbers of the anecdotes, which forms the basis of the text for that Part. Thus for example A., the oldest Ms., and the basis of the text for Pt. I, contains about 175 additional anecdotes: although some of these occur in other parts with slight variation, yet, for the sake of preserving a full and complete text and for the convenience of reference to each individual Ms., these anecdotes are included in the grand serial number, and the recurring anecdotes are pointed out in the *Table of Contents*.

Number of Anecdotes in each Chapter: This is the total number of anecdotes in each separate chapter according to the Ms. used as the basis for that particular chapter.

Chapter Number: This is the ordinary divisional number into which each Part is divided; it is denoted by small Roman numerals. In the present work the grand chapter numeral is not referred to, but only this ordinary chapter-number, which is always preceded by the number of the part also. For method of reference to a particular anecdote, see above, p. 3, n. 7.

Short Headings of the Chapters:¹⁾ These are the abbreviated and translated headings of the hundred chapters, which represent essentially the subject-wise division adopted by the author and almost correspond with the list of chapters given in any old and authentic Ms. of the *Ḥawāmī'*.

A short Table of Anecdotes in the *Ḥawāmī'*.

Part	Grand Chapter Numbers.	No. of Anecs. in each Part.	Grand Serial Nos. of Anecs.
I	I—XXV	1182	1—1182
II	XXVI—L	358	1183—1540
III	LI—LXXV	249	1541—1789
IV	LXXVI—C	324	1790—2113

¹⁾ Only abbreviations of these are used in the accompanying *Comparative Index*.

A *Comparative Index* of the first twenty-five chapters, based on the 14th century
A. D. Mss. of the *Ḥawāṣi'at-Hikāyāt*.

Part I.

On the Knowledge of the Creator, Miracles of the Prophets and Saints, History of the Kings
and Caliphs, and biographies of religious and secular worthies.

	A. ¹⁾ fol.	B. ²⁾ fol.	C. ³⁾ fol.	G. ⁴⁾ fol.	Grand Ch. Numeral	Serial Nos. of Anecs.	No. of Anecs. in Ch	Ch No.	Short Headings of the Chapters
	19b	1b	—	1b					Preface. List of 100 chapters.
1	21b	6a	—	5b	I	1—38	38	i	Knowledge of the Creator.
2	28a	11a	—	10a	II	39—78	40	ii	Miracles of the Prophets.
3	38b	18b	—	18b	III	79—118	40	iii	Anecdotes about Saints.
4	46b	24b	99a	26a	IV	119—195	77	iv	Ancient Kings of Persia and Rūm.
5	82a	49b	122b	52a	V	196—362	167	v	History of the Caliphs.
6	118b	70b	161b	76a	VI	363—400	38	vi	Justice and Just Kings.
7	127a	76a	171b	83a	VII	401—443	43	vii	Memorable Traits of Righteous Kings.
8	135b	80b	181a	90a	VIII	444—482	39	viii	Witty sayings of Kings.
9	140a	83a	186b	94a	IX	483—522	40	ix	On the Punitive System of Kings.
10	145b	87a	193a	98b	X	523—564	42	x	Answers to Petitions and Mandates.
11	151b	90a	198b- 204b	102a	XI	565—612	48	xi	On the Sagacity of Eminent Persons.
12	160a	96b	205a- 2a	109b	XII	613—675	63	xii	Sound Judgments enhancing the Success of Kings.
13	174a	108a	16b	122b	XIII	676—735	54 + 6	xiii	Wiles and Stratagems in Statecraft.
14	187a	117b	31b	134b	XIV	736—787	43 + 9	xiv	Efficient Wazirs and their Diplomacy.
15	196b	123a	40b	141a	XV	788—837	47 + 3	xv	Advice of Sages and Holy Men to Rulers.
16	202a	127a	47a	146b	XVI	838—920	71 + 12	xvi	Pithy and Judicious Answers.
17	209a	131b	54a	151b	XVII	921—986	40 + 26	xvii	Anecdotes about Eminent Qādīs.
18	215b	135b	59b	155b	XVIII	987—1023	14 + 23	xviii	Anecdotes about Secretaries.
19	224b	139a	64b	159b	XIX	1024—1040	6 + 11	xix	Anecdotes about Favourites and Courtiers.
20	228b	140b	66b	161b	XX	1041—1055	9 + 6	xx	Physicians and Wonderful Cures.
21	230b	141b	68a	162b	XXI	1056—1089	17 + 17	xxi	Anecdotes about Oniromancers.
22	237a	143b	70a	165a	XXII	1090—1106	8 + 9	xxii	Astrologers and Wonderful Predictions.
23	239b	144b	72a	166b	XXIII	1107—1125	7 + 12	xxiii	Anecdotes about Poets, and Extempore Verses.
24	242b	145b	73b	168a	XXIV	1126—1140	3 + 12	xxiv	Musicians and Influence of Music.
25	246b	146b	74b	169a	XXV	1141—1182	13 + 29	xxv	Wits and Geniuses.
Pt. I ends	255b	149a	79b	172b			Add. 175		

+ indicates the number of Additional Anecdotes in A. (See above, pp. 112-3).

¹⁾ A. = Ancien Fonds Persan 75, (the oldest Ms.) Bib. Nat. Paris, as the basis of the text for Part I.

²⁾ B. = Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat., Paris.

³⁾ C. = Or. 6855, Br. Mus., London.

⁴⁾ G. = Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris, as companion Ms.

A *Comparative Index* of the second twenty-five chapters, based on the 14th century
A. D. Mss. of the *Fawā'id u'l-Hikāyat*.

Part II.

On the Excellence of Virtues, Praiseworthy Qualities, and Estimable Traits in Human Nature.

	B. ¹⁾ fol.	C. ²⁾ fol.	D. ³⁾ fol.	G. ⁴⁾ fol.	Grand Ch. Numeral.	Serial Nos of Anecs.	No. of Anecs. in Ch.	Ch. No.	Short Heading, of the Chapters
1	149b	79b	—	173b	XXVI	1183—1193	11	i	On the Excellence of Modesty.
2	151a	82a	97a	175a	XXVII	1194—1209	16	ii	Humility.
3	152b	84a	99b	177a	XXVIII	1210—1228	19	iii	Forgiveness.
4	155a	88b	105a	180a	XXIX	1229—1279	51	iv	Clemency.
5	160b	97a	116a	186b	XXX	1280—1296	17	v	Magnanimity.
6	162a	206b	119a	189a	XXXI	1297—1317	21	vi	Culture and Good Manners.
7	164a	211a	124a	192a	XXXII	1318—1323	6	vii	Mercifulness.
8	165b	213a	126b	193b	XXXIII	1324—1330	7	viii	Trust in God.
9	166b	215a	128b	195a	XXXIV	1331—1345	15	ix	Generosity.
10	167b	217a	130b	196b	XXXV	1346—1353	8	x	Benevolence and Graciousness.
11	169b	220a	134a	198b	XXXVI	1354—1380	27	xi	Hospitality.
12	171b	224a	139a	201b	XXXVII	1381—1393	13	xii	Courage.
13	173a	226b	142a	203b	XXXVIII	1394—1403	10	xiii	Patience.
14	175a	229b	145a	205b	XXXIX	1404—1411	8	xiv	Gratitude.
15	176a	231b	147b	207a	XL	1412—1428	17	xv	Prudence and Vigilance.
16	179a	236a	152b	210a	XLI	1429—1442	14	xvi	Asceticism and Piety.
17	180b	240b	157a	213a	XLII	1443—1453	11	xvii	Endeavour and Persistency.
18	182a	243b	161a	215a	XLIII	1454—1465	12	xviii	Propriety of Silence and Speech.
19	184a	246b	164b	217a	XLIV	1466—1474	9	xix	Fidelity and Good Faith.
20	185b	250a	168b	219b	XLV	1475—1478	4	xx	Charity towards Kith and Kin.
21	186b	252a	171a	220b	XLVI	1479—1488	10	xxi	Secrecy and Keeping Counsel.
22	188b	255a	174b	223a	XLVII	1489—1499	11	xxii	Honesty.
23	190b	259a	179a	225b	XLVIII	1500—1519	20	xxiii	Grace and Nobility of Character.
24	194a	264b	185b	229b	XLIX	1520—1527	8	xxiv	Firmness of Resolution.
25	195b	267a	188b	231a	L	1528—1540	13	xxv	Consultation and Absolute Judgment.
Pt. II ends.	202a	271a	193a	234a					

¹⁾ B. = Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat., Paris.

²⁾ C. = Or. 6855. Br. Mus., London.

³⁾ D. = Or. 2676. Br. Mus., as the basis of the text for Part II.

⁴⁾ G. = Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris, as companion Ms.

A *Comparative Index* of the third twenty-five chapters, based on the 14th century
A. D. Mss. of the *Ḥawāmī'u'l-Hikāyat*.

Part III.

On the Despicability of Vices: Blamable Qualities, and Contemptible Traits in Human Nature.

	B. 1) fol.	C. 2) fol.	D. 3) fol.	G. 4) fol.	Grand Ch. Numeral.	Serial Nos. of Anecs.	No. of Anecs. in Ch	Ch. No.	Short Headings of the Chapters.
1	202b	271b	193b	234b	LI	1541—1552	12	i	Diversity in Temperament.
2	204b	274a	196b	236b	LII	1553—1559	7	ii	Rancour and Envy.
3	206a	277a	199b	238b	LIII	1560—1570	11	iii	Avarice and Greedy Persons.
4	207b	279a	202b	240a	LIV	1571—1583	13	iv	Covetousness.
5	198a 208b	281b	205b	242a	LV	1584—1592	9	v	Strange Anecdotes about Robbers.
6	200a	284b	209b	244a	LVI	1593—1599	7	vi	Anecdotes of Beggars.
7	209a	287b	213b	246b	LVII	1600—1618	19	vii	Falsehood versus Truth.
8	211b	291a	218b	248b	LVIII	1619—1627	9	viii	Pseudo-Prophets.
9	214a	295b	224a	252a	LIX	1628—1640	13	ix	Miserliness.
10	215b	297b	228b	254a	LX	1641—1649	9	x	Perjury, and breaking Promises.
11	217b	300b	232b	256b	LXI	1650—1666	17	xi	Ignorance.
12	219b	303a	236a	258b	LXII	1667—1681	15	xii	Tyranny, and Unjust Rulers.
13	221a	306a	240a	261a	LXIII	1682—1688	7	xiii	Hardheartedness and the contrary.
14	223a	308a	243b	263b	LXIV	1689—1696	8	xiv	Mean and Wretched Creatures.
15	224b	310b	247b	265b	LXV	1697—1702	6	xv	Extravagance and Prodigality.
16	226a	313a	250b	267b	LXVI	1703—1706	4	xvi	Dishonesty and Misappropriation.
17	227a	315a	253a	268b	LXVII	1707—1711	5	xvii	Licentiousness and Sexual Abuse.
18	228b	317b	256b	270b	LXVIII	1712—1720	9	xviii	Ingratitude.
19	230b	321a	261a	273b	LXIX	1721—1729	9	xix	Calumny and Slander.
20	231b	323b	264a	275a	LXX	1730—1735	6	xx	Hastiness and the contrary.
21	233b	327a	268b	277b	LXXI	1736—1741	6	xxi	Irreligious and Unprincipled Persons.
22	235b	330b	273a	280a	LXXII	1742—1758	17	xxii	Clever and Intellectual Women.
23	237a	333a	276b	282a	LXXIII	1759—1773	15	xxiii	Chaste and Virtuous Women.
24	239b	336b	280b	284b	LXXIV	1774—1782	9	xxiv	Unchaste and Impious Women.
25	241b	340b	285b	287b	LXXV	1783—1789	7	xxv	Wiles of Women.
Pt. III ends.	243b	344a	290a	290a					

1) B. = Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat., Paris.

2) C. = Or. 6855, Br. Mus., London.

3) D. = Or. 2676, Br. Mus., as the basis of the text for Part III.

4) G. = Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris, as companion Ms.

A *Comparative Index* of the fourth twenty-five chapters, based on the 14th century
A. D. Mss. of the *Ṣawdmī' u'l-Hikāyāt*.

Part IV.

On the Description of Strange Occurrences, the Wonders of Seas and Lands, the Temperament
of Animals, and the Facetiousness of Eminent Persons.

	B. ¹⁾ fol.	C. ²⁾ fol.	D. ³⁾ fol.	G. ⁴⁾ fol.	Grand Ch. Numeral.	Serial Nos. of Anecs.	No. of Anecs. in Ch.	Ch. No.	Short Headings of the Chapters.
1	244a	344b	4b	290b	LXXVI	1790—1798	9	i	Advantages of the Service of Kings.
2	245a	346b	7a	292b	LXXVII	1799—1808	10	ii	Drawbacks of the Service of Kings.
3	246b	348b	9b	294a	LXXVIII	1809—1816	8	iii	On Fear and Hope.
4	248a	351b	12b	296b	LXXIX	1817—1826	10	iv	Efficacy of Prayer.
5	249b	359a	15b	298b	LXXX	1827—1838	12	v	Traditional and Memorable formulas of Prayer.
6	251a	356b	18b	301a	LXXXI	1839—1847	9	vi	Propitious Omens and Strange Occurrences.
7	253a	354b	21b	303b	LXXXII	1848—1859	12	vii	Escapes from the Whirlpool of Destruction.
8	255b	364a	25b	307b	LXXXIII	1860—1865	6	viii	Escapes from Brigands.
9	257a	366b	28b	309b	LXXXIV	1866—1884	19	ix	Escapes from Wild Beasts.
10	260a	371b	34a	313b	LXXXV	1885—1898	14	x	People who succumbed through Love.
11	270a	374b	37b	316b	LXXXVI	1899—1911	13	xi	People who succeeded through Love.
12	263a	384b	49b	324a	LXXXVII	1912—1920	9	xii	Escapes from the Abyss of Perdition.
13	265b	388b	54b	328a	LXXXVIII	1921—1934	14	xiii	Wonders of Destiny.
14	268a	392a	59a	331a	LXXXIX	1935—1944	10	xiv	Human Monstrosities.
15	271a	395a	61b	333a	XC	1945—1962	18	xv	Longevity in Animals.
16	272b	396b	64b	335b	XCI	1963—1967	5	xvi	Cosmography: Seven Climes, etc.
17	274b	394b	68a	338a	XCII	1968—1976	9	xvii	Byzantines, Arabs, Indians, Abyssinians, and the People of Jazā'ir.
18	276a	breaks off on f 397b	71a	340a	XCIII	1977—1986	10	xviii	Remarkable Monuments.
19	278a		74b	342b	XCIV	1987—1995	9	xix	Strange Talismans.
20	279a		77b	344b	XCV	1996—2008	13	xx	Curious Properties of Natural Objects.
21	280b		80b	347a	XCVI	2009—2033	25	xxi	Peculiarities of Strange Animals.
22	282b		85b	350b	XCVII	2034—2053	20	xxii	Wild and Ferocious Animals.
23	284b		90b	354a	XCVIII	2054—2066	13	xxiii	Strange and Rare Animals.
24	285b		93a	355b	XCIX	2067—2074	8	xxiv	Curious Birds and their Peculiarities.
25	287b		96a	358a	C	2075—2113	39	xxv	Humorous pieces and Facetiousness of Eminent Persons.
Pt. IV ends	289b		96b	358b	Grand total 2113 Anecs.				

¹⁾ B. = Supplément Persan 95, Bib. Nat., Paris.

²⁾ C. = Or. 6855. Br. Mus., London.

³⁾ D. = Or. 2676. Br. Mus., as the basis of the text for Part IV.

⁴⁾ G. = Supplément Persan 906, Bib. Nat., Paris, as companion Ms.

CHAPTER VI.

A COMPLETE TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE *JAWAMI'U'L-HIKAYAT*

PARTS I, II, III AND IV RESPECTIVELY

(EACH PART DIVIDED INTO 25 CHAPTERS, THUS COMPRISING 100 CHAPTERS)
CONSISTING OF 2113 ANECDOTES.

SYSTEM OF ANALYSIS ADOPTED IN THE ACCOMPANYING TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PART CHAPTER HEADING.

A.	G.	SERIAL	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
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Part: As the whole work is divided into four parts and further subdivided into 25 chapters, at the beginning of the *Table of Contents* of each part, its number and general heading are given.

Chapter: There is a double numeration of the chapters, firstly, the number of the chapter in each part and, secondly, the corresponding equivalent number of the chapter in the entire work. (See also, above, p. 131, *Key to the Comparative Index*).

Heading: A list of the hundred chapter-headings is given in the original (see above, pp. 127—30) and in an abbreviated form (see above, pp. 132—5), but in most cases the author enlarges these headings at the actual commencement of the chapters; therefore, duly observing uniformity with the headings in the *Comparative Index*, these are translated in full.

A.-G.; Serial (see above, *Key to the Comparative Index*).

Titles of the Anecdotes: In order to bring out the main purport of every anecdote in its proper historical connection, and also keeping in view the subject-wise arrangement of the author, which is very loose and arbitrary, a suitable, descriptive and synoptical title is given to each anecdote; and for the sake of clearness, brevity and elegance had to be sacrificed. In most cases proper names are verified and corrected, dates are supplied, short remarks about sources and events are added and comparative references are given in brackets; so that this *Table* might serve as a tentative historical and biographical index to the whole of the *Fawāmi*.

For abbreviations used in this *Table* and elsewhere, see the *List of Abbreviations* given below.

A Complete Table of Contents of the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyat.

Part I (comprising 25 chapters, I—XXV):

On the Knowledge of the Creator, Miracles of the Prophets and Saints, History and Biography of the Ancient Kings of Persia, and on the Accounts of the Caliphs and Religious and other Secular Worthies.

Part I, Chapter I: On the Knowledge of the Creator.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 19b	f 1b		General Preface to the whole work containing doxology, introduction, dedication, contemporary events, object of the compilation and the headings of the hundred chapters.
f 21b	f 5b		Introduction to the first chapter containing proofs on the existence of the Supreme Being and arguments against heretics and disbelievers.
f 22a	"	1	The Origin of Idolatry: How, after the Ascension of the prophet Idrīs, the Devil tempted the people to worship his own image.
"	"	2	The evil designs of Namrūd; the birth of the prophet Ibrāhīm.
f 22b	f 6a	3	Ibrāhīm challenges Namrūd, the latter's sophistry causes his own ruin and death.
"	"	4	Pharaoh chastised by Iblīs for his false pretensions as a God.
"	"	5	Pharaoh's believing wife Āsiya reproaches him for his blasphemy.
"	"	6	The Imām Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq inculcates faith in God and converts a heretic.
"	"	7	Conversion of 'Imrān ibnu'l-Ḥuṣayn at the hands of the Prophet Muḥammad. (The <i>Adyānu'l-'Arab</i> as the source, see above, p. 39).
f 23a	"	8	The Imām Abū Ḥanīfa baffles the Zindīq conspirators and converts them to Islām.
"	f 6b	9	The Imām Shāfi'ī astounds a believer in 'Nature' by proving that, natural objects being the same, properties are imparted to them by God, <i>e.g.</i> his illustration of the leaf of the raspberry plant — its uses, effects and results.
"	"	10	Argument of the Imām Shāfi'ī against the Zindīqs as to whether sex can be determined by the will of the parents.
"	"	11	The Creator's existence proved by the Imām Ja'far from the formation of an egg.
"	"	12	The Imām Mālik illustrates before the Caliph Hārūn the manifestation of the Omnipotence of the Creator in the Unity and Diversity observable in mankind.
"	"	13	The Arab and the Zindīq: the famous lines about the Design and the Designer.
"	"	14	A Muslim physician's two illustrations to convince a Zindīq: the bee with its poisonous sting and sweet honey; and the myrobalan, as an aperitive in spite of its coolness and dryness.

Part I, Chapter I: On the Knowledge of the Creator (continued).

A	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 23b	f 6b	15	The Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq proves the existence of the Creator through his own coming into existence.
"	"	16	The Caliph 'Alī's conception of the Creator as explained by himself.
"	"	17	How <u>Dhu'n-Nún-i-Miṣrī</u> knew the Creator through Himself.
"	f 7a	18	The falling leaf and the philosophical statement recorded on it.
"	"	19	A Zindīq king converted by his minister through the argument of the Design and the Designer.
f 24a	"	20	Jibra'īl's explanation to the Prophet of his contradictory answer of "No and Yes" about the setting sun.
"	"	21	The utility of gnats in the scheme of the universe as pointed out by the Imām Shāfi'ī. (Anecdote repeated, cf. below, I. xvi. 894).
"	"	22	The three correct answers and one pertinent question of a Muslim divine imprisoned in Rūm, and the consequent conversion of the Christian monks.
f 24b	f 7b	23	'Anbasa, moved by the piety and extreme faith in the justice of God of a condemned Khārijite, implores Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf aṭh-Thaqafī to spare the life of the victim. (Probably from Tanūkhī's <i>Faraj b'ad a'sh-Shidda</i>).
"	"	24	The Caliph Hishām b. 'Abdu'l-Malik and the terrible fate of Ghaylan, the Mu'tazilite.
"	"	25	Ibnu's-Sammāk appears in vision and recounts his celestial reception in reward for his preaching the Unity of God.
"	"	26	The Caliph 'Abdu'llah Muḥammad Abū Ja'far as-Saffāh's clever argument, and the discomfiture of a Dualist.
f 25a	f 8a	27	The wilful defiance of Bakht-Āzmāy, a proud king of Egypt, to the authority of God against the sound advice of his Wazīr, his utter defeat at the hands of Salūḥ or Sabūkh (?) and his penitence.
f 25b	"	28	A drunken libertine's fatal punishment for his blasphemy.
"	f 8b	29	The withering of the hand of a blaspheming calligraphist. (The <i>Kitāb-i-Khalqu'l-Insān</i> as the source, see above, p. 66).
"	"	30	The marvellous story of the Jewish ascetic who cast a suspicion on the raising to life from decayed bones, the dry bone, the virgin who bears a child, and the illustration of the resurrection of the dead.
f 26b	f 9a	31	'Amr b. Murra's sincere advice not to cavil at the " <i>Mutashābihāt</i> " Verses in the <i>Qur'ān</i> . (The <i>Tafsiṛ</i> of Najmu'd-Dīn 'Umar an-Nasafī as the source, see above, p. 65).
"	"	32	The Prophet Muḥammad and the two Jewish Rabbis who accept Islām. (The <i>Tafsiṛ</i> of Ibnu'l-Kalbī as the source, see above, p. 39).
f 27a	"	33	The Caliph 'Umar and the Syrian Jews whose six puzzling questions were solved by the Caliph 'Alī.
"	f 9b	34	The conversion of Ṭalḥa by the Caliph Abū Bakr.
"	"	35	Thumāma b. Ashras's interpretation of the saying of the Prophet regarding the 'delivered' sect out of the seventy-two in Islām, and the Caliph al-Ma'mūn's appreciation. (Anec. repeated, see below, II. xxiii. 1509).
f 27b	"	36	Jibra'īl's appearance before the Prophet in the guise of an Arab and instruction as regards the four cardinal principles of Islām.
"	"	37	The Jew and the Zoroastrian — their beliefs and their deserts.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 28a	f 10a	38	Abîqas (Ibycus), the Greek "philosopher", killed by robbers, is avenged by cranes miraculously. (Cf. F. Schiller, 'die Kraniche des Ibykus'). The chapter ends with a eulogy upon his patron-wazîr Abû Hâmid Muḥammad b. Abî Sa'd al-Junaydî Qiwâmu'd-Dîn entitled the Nizâmu'l-Mulk and upon the ruling Sultan of Dihlî, Shamsu'd-Dîn Iltutmish.
			Part I, Chapter II: On the Miracles of the Prophets.
ff 28	ff 10	39	Introduction to the chapter. The she-camel of Şâlih, the Prophet.
f 28b	f 10b	40	Ibrâhîm and Namrûd. (The story is told by Zayd b. Aslam in a different form.)
f 29a	"	41	Birds restored to life for Ibrâhîm.
"	f 11a	42	The nine miracles of Moses in Egypt.
"	f 11b	43	Moses and his cousin Qârûn.
f 30a	"	44	David asks ten questions of Solomon.
"	f 12a	45	Two miracles wrought by Jesus: (1) a blind man and cripple found guilty; (2) provision of food at a feast.
"	"	46	Another miracle of Jesus; the fatal ingot of gold.
f 30b	"	47	Two dead persons raised to life by Jesus.
"	f 12b	48	Jesus sends two Apostles to Antioch at first and then the third.
f 31b	f 13a	49	The three kinds of the miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad.
"	"	50	Şayf b. Dhî-Yazan foretells the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad to 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib.
"	"	51	Shâpûr-i-Dhu'l-Aktâf and Quşayy b. Kilâb, and the persecution of the Arabs.
f 32a	"	52	The excavation of the Well of Zamzam by 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 71, 91—4).
f 32b	f 14a	53	'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib's vow to sacrifice one of his sons. (<i>Kitâbu'l-Maghâsi</i> as the source, see above, p. 100). (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 97—100).
f 33a	f 14b	54	The Prophet recognised in his seventh year by the monk Bahîrâ. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 114—7).
f 33b	"	55	The quest of Salmân, the Persian, and his conversion at the hands of the Prophet. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 136—42).
f 34a	f 15a	56	Waraqâ b. Nawfal's interpretation of the dream of Khadîja, and her marriage with the Prophet. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 119—21).
f 34b	f 15b	57	The light on 'Abdu'llah's forehead discerned by a Jewish wise woman before his nuptials with Âmina. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 100—101).
"	"	58	The Prophet Muḥammad chosen to replace the Black Stone when the Ka'ba was under repair. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 122—3).
f 35a	"	59	Qayṭur? or Qunṭur? or Fanṭûn? or Faṭûn?, the Jewish tyrant. (Cf. <i>Kitâbu'l-Maghâsin wa'l-Adhâd</i> ed. Van Vloten pp. 282—3).
"	f 16a	60	General classification of the miracles of the Prophet: Traditional and Rational.
f 35b	"	61	The captured Gazelle and its young one.
"	"	62	A lizard bears witness to the truth of the Prophet.
"	f 16b	63	The Prophet intercedes for a camel which talks with him.
"	"	64	The Prophet makes a tree walk for Abû Tâlib but fails to convert him.
"	"	65	The Prophet miraculously feeds 1,000 people on the occasion of the Battle of the Ditch.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 36a	f 16b	66	Another miracle of the same sort on the same occasion.
"	f 17a	67	The miraculous milking for 'Abdu'llah b. Mas'ūd and the episode of Umm-i-Ma'bad in evidence of the above.
"	"	68	Another miracle of the Prophet: water provided miraculously.
f 36b	"	69	Surāqa b. Mālik a would-be captor of the Prophet miraculously seized by the earth. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 331—2).
"	"	70	The Prophet refuses recompense for a cure which he effected.
"	"	71	In answer to the Prophet's prayer, a lion slays 'Utba b. Abī Lahab.
f 37a	f 17b	72	The execution of Abū Mughīth, the enemy of the Prophet.
"	"	73	Capture and conversion of 'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, and the murder of Abu'l-Bakhtarī.
f 37b	"	74	Conversion of 'Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumahlī, the would-be assassin of the Prophet. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 471—3).
"	f 18a	75	Punishment of Khusraw Parwīz and conversion of Bādhān.
f 38a	"	76	The Prophet punishes severely Kināna b. Rab'ā for hiding the treasure of Banū Nadhīr which he discovers. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 763—4).
"	"	77	Death of Rifā'a b. Zayd a "Hypocrite" announced by a fierce gale. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 361, 727).
"	f 18b	78	The Prophet's enemies miraculously destroyed by cold in the Battle of the Ditch, and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān's part in it. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 682—4). The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr.
Part I, Chapter III: On the Anecdotes of the Saints (with comparative references).			
f 38b	f 18b— f 19a	79	A short introductory note on Miracles. The Caliph 'Umar's clairvoyance on the occasion of the Battle of Nahāwand.
f 39a	f 19a	80	The letter of the Caliph 'Umar to the Nile, and the rising of the river.
"	"	81	Khālid b. Walīd, sent as the Prophet's ambassador to the court of Byzantium, drinks poison at the Qaysar's command with impunity.
"	f 19b	82	The conversion of Ibrāhīm b. Adham al-Balkhī (d. 161 A. H. = 777 A. D.) and his miracle: making the pomegranate tree bear sweet fruits twice a year. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 9; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> p. 104, // 18—25).
f 39b	"	83	How Dhu'n-Nūn of Egypt (d. 245 A. H. = 860 A. D.) felt penitent after witnessing that Providence supplied a blind lark with two dishes. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 9; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> p. 115, // 21—5).
"	"	84	Account of Abū 'Alī Fudhayl b. 'Iyādh (d. 287 A. H. = 900 A. D.), his early career as a highway robber, his penitence and conversion of a Magian by his miraculous transmutation of earth into gold. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 10; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> pp. 75—6).
"	f 20a	85	Anxiety of the parents of Abū Maḥfūz Ma'rūf b. Fīrūz al-Karkhī (d. 200 or 201 A. H. = 815 or 816 A. D.) after his conversion at the hands of the Imām 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Ridhā (d. 203 A. H. = 818 A. D.). (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 10; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> p. 269).
f 40a	"	86	Abu'l-Ḥasan as-Sariyyu's-Saqatī (d. 257 A. H. = 870 A. D.), the uncle and the spiritual director of Junayd of Baghdād (d. 298 A. H. = 910/11 A. D.), is blessed by Ma'rūf al-Karkhī for having clothed an orphan; and his

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			remorse at the Vision of the Hūr. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> pp. 11—12; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> p. 275 <i>ll.</i> 5—8, 18—23).
f 40a	f 20a	87	How Abū Naṣr Bishr b. al-Ḥārith al-Ḥāfi (d. 227 A. H. = 841/2 A. D.) was forgiven by God for his act of sanctifying a scrap of paper bearing <i>Bismillāh</i> ; and his other sayings. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 12; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> p. 107, <i>ll.</i> 1—7).
"	"	88	The pious scruples of Abū 'Abdī'llah al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243 A. H. = 857 A. D.) in rejecting an inheritance of 70,000 <i>Dirhams</i> from his father since he was a " <i>Qadari</i> "; and how he was miraculously protected from taking any unclean thing; and what he did at the invitation of Junayd. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 13; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> pp. 225—6).
f 40b	f 20b	89	How Abū Sulaymān Dā'ūd b. Nuṣayr at-Ṭā'i (d. 166 A. H. = 782 A. D.) was first initiated into the path of Sūfism by the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150 A. H. = 767 A. D.) (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 14; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> pp. 219—20).
"	"	90	Early life of Abū 'Alī Shāfiq b. Ibrāhīm al-Balkhī (d. 274 A. H. = 887 A. D.) as a trader and the remark of an idolator that awakened him. Another account of his repentance: the story of the slave who remained during a severe famine care-free and cheerful, because his master had ample provisions. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 15; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> pp. 196—7).
"	"	91	Shāfiq bails out his neighbour, and releases him from the charge against him by restoring one of the lost dogs of 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān, the governor of Balkh. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 15; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> p. 197).
f 41a	f 21a	92	The Ascension of Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr b. 'Isā Bisṭāmī (d. 261 or 234 A. H. = 874 or 848 A. D.) or the Beatific Vision in which he passed the stages of his purification. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 16; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> pp. 172—6). (The <i>Maqāmat-i-Shaykh Bā Yazīd-i-Bisṭāmī</i> is indirectly referred to in this Anec.).
f 41b	"	93	Muḥammad b. Sawwār, the uncle of Abū Muḥammad Sahl b. 'Abdu'llah at-Tustarī (d. 273 or 283 A. H. = 886 or 896 A. D.), teaches him how to remember God, the Creator. Early ascetic practices and the penance of Sahl. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 17; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> pp. 253—4).
"	f 21b	94	A miraculous provision of food for a Christian at the prayer of Abū Sulaymān b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. 'Aṭiyyatu'd-Darānī (d. 215 A. H. = 830 A. D.). (Cf. <i>J. N. U.</i> p. 43).
f 42a	"	95	How 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Ḥātim b. Yūsuf al-Aṣamm (d. 237 A. H. = 851 A. D.) obtained the nickname of "al-Aṣamm" or the Deaf. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 18; <i>A. T. A. I.</i> p. 245).
"	f 22a	96	Sa'īd b. Muḥammad ar-Rāzi's (d. 258 A. H. = 871/2 A. D.) account of the anger of Ḥātim al-Aṣamm and the paralysing of the hand of a dishonest creditor. (Cf. <i>A. T. A. I.</i> p. 245).
"	"	97	The rising-up of the bucket automatically from the bottom of a well at the prayer of one of the disciples of Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Khidrawayh of Balkh (d. 240 A. H. = 854 A. D.). How his debts were paid up at his death-bed by an unknown person. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 19). (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Mashd'ikh-i-Khurāsān</i> as the source, see above, p. 54).
		98	The historic visit of the Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Maslama al-Ḥaddād (d. circa 264 A. H. = 877 A. D.) to the convent of the Shaykh Abū

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			‘Uḥmān al-Ḥīrī (d. 298 A. H. = 910 A. D.), the lighting of nineteen lamps for the sake of God resulting in the conversion of a family of the Jews. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 19, 22; <i>A. T. A.</i> I, p. 322).
f 42b	f 22b	99	Ya‘qúb b. Layḥ the Ṣaffárid cured of an irremediable disease by the prayer of Sahl-i-Tustarī. (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 141, l. 20; <i>A. T. A.</i> I, p. 255).
"	"	100	Ibn ‘Ámir Abdu’l-Qays is watched over by a lion during his prayer whereby a Christian monk is converted.
f 43a	"	101	‘Amr b. Málík delivered of his debt by a purse miraculously supplied by the Shaykh Abu’l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Núrí (d. 295 A. H. = 907 A. D.). (Cf. <i>R. Q.</i> p. 23; <i>A. T. A.</i> II, p. 46).
"	"	102	How Rabī‘ b. Khuṭḥyam consigns his daughter to the protection of God on the peak of Abú Qubays, where she is found and brought up by the Caliph (?).
"	f 23a	103	Description of the ecstatic state of Abú Bakr-i-Shiblī (d. 334 A. H. = 946 A. D.) in his early days, and the reply of a potter that awakened him to the magic power that lies in the repetition of the names of God. (Cf. <i>A. T. A.</i> II, p. 162, l. 18; also <i>J. N. U.</i> p. 201).
f 43b	"	104	Shaykh Abu’l-Ḥasan Kharaqání’s (d. 425 A. H. = 1033 A. D.) explanation to his visitors of his attitude towards the conduct of his wife and the consequent submission of the wild beasts to his will. (The anecdote is related in <i>A. T. A.</i> II, p. 208 in connection with the visit of Ibn Síná, (d. 1037 A. D.) the philosopher, to the saint). Cf. <i>J. N. U.</i> p. 336.
"	"	105	Abú Sulaymán Dárání prays for the soul of his shrewish wife in spite of her wicked treatment of him, which results in converting her into a pious woman.
"	"	106	Dhu’n-Nún-i-Miṣrī’s astonishment at the miraculous scorpion that crossed the Nile and saved a drunkard from a snake, and the inferences drawn from this extraordinary occurrence. (The <i>Kitáb-i-Siyarū’s-Ṣálihín</i> (?) as the source, see above, p. 24, l. 35).
f 44a	f 23b	107	How Muḥammad b. ‘Alī was drifted to a strange land in chasing the saint, Sahl-i-Tustarī, and miraculously transported back to his native town, Tustar. (The <i>Rawḍhatu’l-‘Ulamá’</i> (?) as the source, see above p. 24, l. 35).
"	"	108	The dream of Rabī‘ b. Khuṭḥyam and his visit to the mysterious woman Maymúna-i-Zangī, and their marriage in Paradise. (The <i>Rawḍhatu’l-‘Ulamá’</i> as the source).
f 44b	f 24a	109	Rabī‘ b. Khuṭḥyam, when accused by a boating party of stealing a pearl, acquits himself miraculously by producing pearls from the sea.
			<i>Descriptive titles of the Anecdotes of the Shaykh Abú Sa‘id b. Abi’l-Khayr of Mayhana.</i>
"	"	110	The story of a traveller who was left in the desert of Marw, and the mysterious appearance of a rider, at whose bidding a tiger carries him back safely to his caravan, and whom the traveller recognises later on in Nishápúr as the great Shaykh Abú Sa‘id. (The <i>Maqámát-i-Shaykh Abi Sa‘id</i> indirectly mentioned. See above, p. 24, l. 34, pp. 39—40). Cf. <i>M. A. T.</i> pp. 76—84.

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f 45a	f 24b	111	How the Shaykh reads the thoughts of the Khwāja Abu'l-Qāsim Hāshimī and awakens in him the love of the real. (Cf. <i>M. A. T.</i> p. 70).
f 45b	"	112	An instance of the Shaykh's voluntary levies: how the Shaykh ordered Ḥasan Mu'addab, the famulus, to buy a certain sheep in the shop of a butcher in Nīshāpūr, and throw it to dogs, while the inmates of his convent were in want of meat for some time, and how it led to the butcher's confession of his guilt, and to his supplying plenty of meat for the convent. (Cf. <i>M. A. T.</i> pp. 141—2).
"	f 25a	113	Another instance of similar kind: the Shaykh's levy on the <i>Nagīb</i> , the chief constable of Nīshāpūr, and his acceptance of the purse which the <i>Nagīb</i> had extorted and now tauntingly offered to him, which in the end proved to be a bequest made to the Shaykh himself, but had been stolen.
"	"	114	How the 'Amīd of Khurāsān, called in the beginning Ḥājib Muḥammad, rose to power through the blessings of the Shaykh. (Cf. <i>M. A. T.</i> pp. 113—4).
f 46a	"	115	The origin of the convent of the Ṣūfīs at Iṣfahān, and the prophecy of the Shaykh about the rise and fall of the great Wazīr, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk Ṭūsī. (Cf. <i>M. A. T.</i> pp. 233—6).
"	f 25b	116	How the great Wazīr, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, offered his money-belt at the invitation of the Shaykh, and was in the end rewarded by the services of 1,000 men in livery. (Cf. <i>M. A. T.</i> pp. 115—6).
f 46b	"	117	The Shaykh's triumph over his rival, Abū Muḥammad Juwaynī, and the conversion of a Jew thereby. (Cf. <i>M. A. T.</i> pp. 169—70).
"	"	118	The conversion of Ḥasan Mu'addab, and the offer of his Ṭabarī turban after the Shaykh had exposed him mercilessly. (Cf. <i>M. A. T.</i> pp. 75—6).
			Part I, Chapter IV: On the Account of the Ancient Kings of Persia, Greece, China, India, and of the Turks and Arabs.
"	f 26a	119	A short introduction; reference to at-Ṭabarī's Annals, and at-Ṭha'ālībī's <i>Ghurār</i> (see above, pp. 89—90).
f 47a	"	120	A short account of the reign of Gayūmarth. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 1—4).
"	"	121	A short account of the reign of Hūshang. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 5—7).
f 47b	f 26b	122	A short account of the reign of Ṭahmūrath. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 7—10).
"	"	123	A short account of the reign of Jamshīd; the origin of Nayrūz and of wine. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 10—17).
"	"	124	Wine made unlawful by Kay-Qubād and again made lawful. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 149—52).
"	"	125	Conclusion of Jamshīd's reign. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 16—7).
f 48a	"	126	The reign of <i>Dhahāk</i> . (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 18).
"	f 27a	127	<i>Dhahāk</i> and the devil: the origin of flesh-eating, the two snakes and their horrible food. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 19—24).
f 48b	f 27b	128	The origin of the Kurds and the story of Irmā'il and Kirmā'il. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 24).
"	"	129	<i>Dhahāk</i> 's dream, and the birth and adventures of Farīdūn. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 32).
f 49a	f 28a	130	The reign of Farīdūn: the origin of Mīhrjān, and of the Dirafsh-i-Kāwā-yānī. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 36—40).
f 49b	"		Farīdūn and his three sons; the murder of Íraj; birth of Minúchihr. The

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			<i>Shāhnāma</i> of Firdawsi, and the <i>Ghurār</i> of ath-Tha'libi are referred to. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 52—65).
f 50b	f 29a	131	Adventures of Sām and Zāl-i-Zar and the reign of Minuchihr. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 68—108). (A <i>Shāhnāma</i> is here referred to).
f 53a	f 31a	132	Birth of Rustam.
"	"	133	The reign of Nawdhar, and the aggressions of Afrásiyáb. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 109—110).
f 53b	f 31b	134	Afrásiyab's invasion of Írán. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 110 <i>et seq.</i>).
f 54b	f 32a	135	Tahmásp's reign; the shot of Kay-Arish.
"	f 32b	136	Kay-Qubád's reign; Afrásiyab's attempts on Íránshahr, and the adventures of Rustam. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> 139—47).
f 55a	"	137	Reign of Kay-Ká'ús, his relations with Yaman, and his rescue. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 154—63).
f 55b	f 33a	138	The story of Siyáwush and Súdábah, Siyáwush makes common cause with his father's enemy, Afrásiyáb. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 168—212).
f 58b	f 35a	139	Reign of Kay-Khusraw and the death of Afrásiyáb. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 212—38).
f 59a	f 36a	140	Reign of Luhrásp. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 239—44).
f 60a	f 36b	141	Story of Gushtásp and the appearance of Zoroaster. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 245, 256, 262).
"	"	142	The war between Gushtásp and Arjásp; the account of the fire-temple Ádhar-Núsh. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 263—76).
f 60b	f 37a	143	Isfandiyár's martial exploits. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 277—81).
f 61b	f 37b	144	The <i>Haft Khwán</i> or the account of the seven exploits of Isfandiyar. (A <i>Shāhnāma</i> is referred to.) (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 301—38).
f 62a	f 38a	145	Isfandiyár slain by Rustam. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 338—78).
f 64a	f 39b	146	Death of Rustam. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 379—85).
f 64b	f 40a	147	Reign of Bahman, the son of Isfandiyár. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 386—390).
"	"	148	Reign of Queen Humáy. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 390—1).
"	"	149	Humáy abdicates in favour of her son Dáráb. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 392—7).
f 65a	f 40b	150	Accession of Dárá, the son of Dáráb. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 397—9).
"	"	151	Alexander the Great refuses to pay tribute to Persia. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 399—408).
f 65b	f 41a	152	Dárá defeated and slain by Alexander. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 408—11).
f 66a	"	153	Alexander's invasion of India. his entry into the Land of Darkness and 'Íraq. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 416—34).
f 67a	f 41b	154	Institution of the Mulúk'ut-Ṭawá'if by Aristotle's advice.
"	f 42a	155	History of the Mulúk'ut-Ṭawá'if or the Tribal Kings. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 456—8).
f 67b	"	156	The reign of Faghfúr, the son of Ashkan, one of the descendents of Yáfiṭh b. Núḥ. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 458—73).
f 68a	f 42b	157	Rise of the Sásanian dynasty: birth and promising career and reign of Ardashír-i-Bábakán. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 473—82). (<i>Sharḥ-i-Maqamát-i-Ḥariri</i> of Muṭarrizí is quoted and <i>Ṭabari</i> also cited).
f 69a	f 43a	158	Birth of Shápúr. (<i>Ṭabari</i> cited).
f 69b	f 43b	159	Reign of Shápúr. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 487—9).
"	"	160	Story of Sáṭirún and Dhayzan. Continuation of Shápúr's reign (<i>Ṭabari</i> cited).
f 70a	f 44a	161	Reign of Hurmuz. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 498—500).
"	"	162	Reign of Bahrám; appearance of Manes, the founder of Zindiqism. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i>

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			pp. 500—501). (<i>Ta'rikh-i-Maqdisi</i> , i. e. the <i>Kitāb 'ul-Badw-wa't-Ta'rikh</i> of Muṭahhar b. Ṭahir al-Maqdisi edited by C. Huart. see Vol. iii, p. 157, as the source). See above, pp. 34—5.
f 70a	f 44a	163	Manes: his skill in painting and some principles of the Manichaeans. (The <i>Kitāb-i-A'radhu'r-Riyāsa-ft-Aghrādhi's-Siyāsa</i> as the source).
f 70b	f 44b	164	Reign of Bahram II, called the "Ṣalif", and his son Bahram b. Bahram. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 503—8).
"	"	165	Reign of Narsi, the son of Bahram (very short). (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 508—10).
"	"	166	Reign of Hurmuz, the son of Narsi (very short). (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 510—12).
"	"	167	Reign of Shāpūr "Dhu'l-Aktāf". (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 513—32).
f 71b	f 45a	168	Reigns of Ardashir II, the son of Hurmuz and Shāpūr the son of Shāpūr (very short). (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 532—5).
"	"	169	Reign of Bahram b. Shāpūr b. Shāpūr called Kirmānshāh. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 535—6).
"	"	170	Reign of Yazdigird "the Sinner". (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 537—9).
"	f 45b	171	Reign of Bahram Gūr. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 539—44).
f 72a	"	172	Why Bahram was called Bahram Gūr (very short). (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 544).
"	"	173	Bahram Gūr visits his father Yazdigird "the Sinner". (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 544—9).
"	"	174	(a) How Bahram wins the crown by the ordeal of lions, (cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 549—53), (b) and his victory over the Khāqān-i-Chīn. (<i>Gh.</i> 554—560).
f 73a	f 46a	175	Bahram Gūr visits India, meets Shankal; occasion of the spurious but celebrated couplet: (in <i>Gh.</i> Ibn Khurdādhbih is cited for this verse). (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 560—4).
"	f 46b	176	Bahram imports a thousand minstrels from India: origin of the Lūliyān or Kūriyān (in <i>Gh.</i> Lūriyyun). (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 564—9).
f 73b	"	177	Reigns of Yazdigird II and Fīrūz, the sons of Bahram Gūr. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 569—79). And the dreadful famine and Fīrūz's generosity.
"	"	178	Khushunwār or Khushnawāz, the sodomist, the ruler of Gajistān, and Fīrūz's unsuccessful attempt to suppress that vice (the story is related at some length). (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 579—83).
f 74b	f 47a	179	Sawājir, the Regent, acts wisely and restores the sons of Fīrūz. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 586).
"	f 47b	180	Reigns of Balāsh and Qubād, the sons of Fīrūz. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 583—90).
f 75a	"	181	Qubād and Jāmāsp fight for the throne: Qubād restored at last. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 590—6).
"	f 48a	182	The appearance of Mazdak and Qubād's reception of him. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 596—603).
f 75b	"	183	Reign of Nūshīrwān and the suppression of the Mazdakites. The story is connected with Nu'mān b. Mundhir, Imra'u'l-Qays and Mazdak (reference to <i>Ghurār</i> , <i>Ṭabari</i> .) (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 603—6).
f 76a	f 48b	184	Remainder of Nūshīrwān's reign. (In <i>Gh.</i> 610—36: Nūshīrwān's saying, invasions, chess, <i>Kalīla wa Dimna</i> , Barzuwayh and Buzurjimihr are mentioned, which are omitted in the <i>Fawāmī</i>). (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 609, 636).
f 76b	"	185	Reign of Hurmuz, the son of Nūshīrwān: Bahram Chūbīn. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 637—61).
f 78a	f 49b	186	Flight of Parwīz.
f 79a	f 50a	187	The Wonders collected by Parwīz. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 698). [Khāqānī and Nizāmī (<i>Khusrāw wa Shīrīn</i>) cited].

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f 79b	f 50b	188	Fall and death of Parwíz at the hands of Shírwayh. (<i>Kalíla wa Dinná</i> is referred to.) (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 712, 724).
f 80a	f 51a	189	Shírwayh murders his brothers. Death of Shírín.
f 80b	"	190	Reign and death of Shírwayh. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 718).
"	"	191	Reign of Ardashír, the son of Shírwayh. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 731).
"	f 51b	192	Reigns of Shahr-Ázád, Búrán, and Ázarmídukht, his daughters. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> p. 733).
f 81a	"	193	Farrukh-Zád and Ázarmídukht, and the rise and fall of Yazdigird. (Cf. <i>Gh.</i> pp. 736—42).
f 81b	f 52a	194	Some account of the Kings of Rúm, <i>ie</i> , Byzantium.
"	"	195	Heraclius persists in opening the locked chamber. The chapter ends with a short eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter V: On the History of the Caliphs: A comparative list of the three periods.
			The Orthodox Caliphs (11—40 A. H. = 632—661 A. D.).
f 82a	"	196	Introduction: A discourse on the Caliphate and Imámate. Caliphate of Abú Bakr. (11 A. H. = 632 A. D.).
f 82b	f 52b	197	‘Umar and Abú Bakr at Muḥammad’s death.
"	f 53a	198	Despatch of ‘Usáma b. Zayd against Syria.
f 83a	"	199	The rebellion of Ṭalḥa b. Khuwaylid after the death of the Prophet.
"	"	200	Málik killed by Khálid: disagreement of Abú Bakr and ‘Umar.
f 84a	f 53b	201	Campaign against Persia.
f 84b	f 54a	202	Same continued. Conquest of Ubulla. (Important details concerning the current events, when the author had begun to write this history under Násir‘ud-Dín Qabácha, see above, p. 112, <i>n.</i> 4).
f 85a	"	203	The Battle of Yarmúk; dismissal of Khálid.
f 86a	f 55a	204	Death of Abú Bakr.
f 86b	"	205	Caliphate of ‘Umar. (13 A. H. = 634 A. D.).
"	"	206	Continuation of Persian Campaign.
f 87a	f 55b	207	Abu ‘Ubayda refuses presents offered to him by the Dihqáns.
"	"	208	The Battle of the Bridge.
f 88a	f 56a	209	Continuation of Persian Campaign. The Caliph ‘Umar sends Jarír b. ‘Abd-u’llah al-Bajalí for the reinforcement of Muḥanná.
"	"	210	S‘ad ibn-i-Abí Waqqáṣ raids the market of Baghdád.
f 88b	"	211	The Persian and Arab armies meet at Qádisiyya.
f 89a	f 56b	212	The Arab ambassadors before Yazdigird.
f 89b	"	213	The Battle of Qádisiyya.
f 90a	f 57a	214	Khálid’s success against the Byzantines.
f 90b	"	215	Further success against the Byzantines: Íliyyá taken.
f 91a	f 57b	216	Increasing despair of Yazdigird.
"	"	217	The Arabs divide the spoil at Madá‘in (Ctesiphon); account of the spoil.
f 92a	f 58a	218	Assassination of ‘Umar by Abú Lúlú, the Persian slave.
"	"	219	Dying words of the Caliph ‘Umar.
"	"	220	The election of ‘Uthmán to the Caliphate. (23 A. H. = 644 A. D.).

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f 92b	f 58a	221	The Caliph ʿUthmān's first address to the Muslims.
"	f 58b	222	Abu'l-ʿAynā' defends ʿUthmān before one of the ʿAbbāsīd Caliphs. (A part of this Anec. is quoted in the <i>Tajdribu's-Salaf</i> , see Browne [Or. G. 3] f. 34a).
f 93a	"	223	Murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān.
"	"	224	Particulars of the Caliph ʿUthmān's life and genealogy.
"	"	225	(a) ʿAlī's sentiments towards Uthmān. (b) Another anecdote representing the same.
"	"	226	Caliphate of ʿAlī, and his intention to depose Muʿāwiya. (35 A.H. = 656 A.D.).
f 93b	f 59a	227	Discussion, concerning the internecine wars of the early Companions of the Prophet, at a later period, is both unprofitable and undesirable, as depicted in this anecdote.
"	"	228	Anecdote concerning ʿAlī: Elucidation of a verse about ʿAlī.
"	"	229	The ʿĪd-i-Ghadīr.
"	"	230	The Prophet chooses ʿAlī as his adopted brother, while he was inaugurating the ceremony of brotherhood amongst his Companions in pairs.
f 94a	"	231	Reply to a Khārijite who reviled the Caliph ʿAlī.
"	f 59b	232	A reminiscence of the author when he was preaching at Nīshāpūr, and a miracle of the Prophet. (Autobiographic details).
f 94b	"	233	The Khārijite conspiracy.
"	f 60a	234	Caliphate of al-Ḥasan, the son of the Caliph ʿAlī. (40 A.H. = 661 A.D.).
			The Umayyad Caliphs (41—132 A.H. = 661—750 A.D.).
f 95a	"	235	The Caliphate of Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, and a <i>Memoria Technica</i> of the fourteen Umayyad Caliphs by the author.
"	"	236	Anecdote of Hind's divorce and marriage (and explanation of a line of Firdawsī, not found in A).
f 95b	f 60b	237	How it came about that the sword ever divided the children of ʿAbd-i-Shams and the children of Hāshim.
"	"	238	Caliphate of Muʿāwiya I. (41 A.H. = 661 A.D.).
"	"	239	al-Ḥasan's speech on his abdication.
"	"	240	Muʿāwiya's tribute to ʿAlī's memory: Muʿāwiya not to be cursed.
f 96a	"	241	Muʿāwiya and al-Ḥasan.
"	"	242	al-Ḥasan refuses to fight for Muʿāwiya.
"	f 61a	243	ʿAdī b. Ḥatīm and Muʿāwiya.
"	"	244	Muʿāwiya's dying counsel to his son Yazīd.
f 96b	"	245	Muʿāwiya tests ʿAlī by false reports.
"	"	246	Caliphate of Yazīd I. (60 A.H. = 680 A.D.). (Author as a preacher in Nīshāpūr).
f 97a	f 61b	247	Origin of Yazīd's hatred of al-Ḥusayn.
"	"	248	Caliphate of Muʿāwiya II. (64 A.H. = 683 A.D.). (A part of this anecdote is quoted in the <i>Tajdribu's Salaf</i> , see Browne [Or. G. 3] f. 34a).
f 97b	"	249	Caliphate of Marwān I (64 A.H. = 683 A.D.).
"	f 62a	250	Death of Marwān.
"	"	251	Caliphate of ʿAbdu'l-Malik (65 A.H. = 685 A.D.).
"	"	252	ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, Ibn Zubayr and Ibnu'l-Ḥanafīyya contend for the Caliphate.

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f 97b	f 62a	253	Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr defeated and slain.
"	"	254	Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and Músá b. Nuṣayr help 'Abdu'-Malik.
f 98a	"	255	'Abdu'llah b. Zubayr, Mukhtár and Ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya.
f 99a	f 63a	256	'Abdu'l-Malik and the <i>Qur'án</i> .
f 99b	"	257	'Abdu'l-Malik reproached for the blood of the believers shed by him.
"	"	258	Caliphate of al-Walíd (86 H. A. = 705 A. D.).
"	"	259	al-Walíd refuses to become a miser.
"	f 63a	260	Caliphate of Sulaymán. (96 H. A. = 715 A. D.).
"	f 63b	261	Sulaymán's love for the family of 'Alí and severity towards Non-Muslims.
f 100a	"	262	Caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz. (99 A. H. = 717 A. D.).
"	"	263	Virtues of 'Umar II.
"	"	264	Defeat of Turkish invaders during the Caliphate of 'Umar II.
"	"	265	Caliphate of Yazíd II. (101 A. H. = 720 A. D.).
"	"	266	Kindness shown by Yazíd II to al-Ḥasan's daughter Fátima.
f 100b	f 64a	267	Harshness of Yazíd II towards his brother.
"	"	268	Posthumous proofs of 'Umar II's policy: the two locked chambers.
"	"	269	Caliphate of Hishám. (105 A. H. = 724 A. D.).
f 101a	"	270	Persecution of <i>Qadarís</i> , the fate of Ghaylán.
"	"	271	Caliphate of Walíd II. (125 A. H. = 743 A. D.).
"	f 64b	272	Immorality and heresy of Walíd II.
"	"	273	Narrative of Walíd's concubine who took his place at public prayer.
"	"	274	Murder of Walíd II.
f 101b	"	275	Caliphate of Yazíd III. (126 A. H. = 744 A. D.). His Persian mother Máh- Áfaríd, the great-grand-daughter of Yazdigird.
"	"	276	End of Yazíd III's Caliphate.
"	"	277	Ibráhím Ibnu'l-Walíd, his short reign of 72 days. (126 A. H. = 744 A. D.).
"	"	278	Marwán revolts against Ibráhím.
"	f 65a	279	Caliphate of Marwán II. (127—132 A. H. = 744—750 A. D.).
"	"	280	Fall of the Umayyads.
			The 'Abbásid Caliphs (132—623 A. H. = 750—1226 A. D.).
f 102a	"	281	The rise of the 'Abbásids; a <i>Memoria Technica</i> of the 36 'Abbásid Caliphs by the author.
"	"	282	Caliphate of as-Saffáh. (132 A. H. = 750 A. D.).
f 102b	f 65b	283	Death of Abú Salama-i-Khallál.
"	"	284	Abú Salama's intrigues against as-Saffáh to restore the line of 'Alí.
f 103a	"	285	The defeat of Marwán II, the last of the Umayyad Caliphs.
"	"	286	Abú Salama's assassination effected by Abú Muslim.
f 103b	f 66a	287	Origin of al-Manṣúr's distrust of Abú Muslim.
f 104a	f 66b	288	Caliphate of al-Manṣúr; his avarice. (136 A. H. = 754 A. D.).
"	"	289	Abú Muslim entrapped and slain.
f 104b	"	290	Death of al-Manṣúr.
"	"	291	Caliphate of al-Mahdí; his prodigality. (158 A. H. = 775 A. D.).
"	"	292	al-Muqanna', the Veiled Prophet of Khúrasán. (Súzaní cited).
f 105a	"	293	Death of al-Mahdí.
"	"	294	Caliphate of al-Hádí; 'Alawí revolts. (169 A. H. = 785 A. D.).

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f 105a	"	295	Loyalty of Yaḥya b. Khalid, the Barmecide, to Hārūnu 'r-Rashīd.
f 105b	"	296	A strange coincidence; death of al-Hādī, accession of Hārūnu'r-Rashīd and the birth of his son, the great al-Ma'mūn, on the same day.
"	"	297	Caliphate of Hārūnu'r-Rashīd. (170 A. H. = 786 A. D.)
"	"	298	'Abdu'llah b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī renounces his candidate, and goes on pilgrimage; and the birth of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn.
f 106a	"	299	The pact between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn.
"	"	300	Hārūn's provision for his youngest son, Mu'tamin, at the division of the Caliphate.
"	"	301	First indications of the resentment of the Caliph Hārūn against the Barmecides, at Yaḥyā's encroachment upon his privacy.
f 106b	f 67a	302	The romance of Ja'far, the Barmecide, and 'Abbāsa. The suspicion of the Caliph Hārūn and the destruction of the Barmecides. (The <i>Kitāb-i-Khalqu'l-Insān</i> , as the source).
f 107a	"	303	Catastrophe of the Barmecides. (<i>Ta'rikh-i-Ṭabari</i> and <i>Maqdisi</i> cited).
f 107b	f 67b	304	The Caliph Hārūn's last journey to Khurāsān, and his death.
"	"	305	The rising of Rāfi' b. Layth in Khurāsān; 'Alī b. 'Isā and Harthama.
f 108a	f 68a	306	Caliphate of al-Amīn. (193 A. H. = 809 A. D.).
"	"	307	al-Amīn's treachery to his brothers.
f 108b	f 68b	308	War between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn, and the death of al-Amīn.
f 109a	f 69a	309	Caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. (198 A. H. = 813 A. D.).
"	"	310	Ḥasan b. Sahl's misgovernment in Baghdād.
f 109b	"	311	Murder of Fadhl b. Sahl and Imām 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Ridhā'.
f 110a	f 69b	312	Story of Ṭāhir, the ambidexter: disloyalty and death.
f 110b	f 70a	313	Death of al-Ma'mūn.
"	"	314	Caliphate of al-Mu'taṣim. (218 A. H. = 833 A. D.).
"	"	315	The rising of Bābak-i-Khurramī and his death at the hands of Afshīn. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Maqdisi</i> or the <i>Kitābu'l-Badw</i> , Vol. VI, pp. 114—6 cited),
f 111b	f 70b	316	Liberality of al-Mu'taṣim; his death.
"	"	317	Caliphate of al Wāthiq. (227 A. H. = 842 A. D.).
"	"	318	Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil. (232 A. H. = 847 A. D.).
"	f 71a	319	al-Mutawakkil dishonours the Imām al-Ḥusayn's grave and honours the Prophet's spear.
f 112a	"	320	al-Mutawakkil's sons and the partition of the Empire.
"	"	321	Murder of al-Mutawakkil by the Turkish Guard.
"	"	322	Caliphate of al-Muntaṣir. (247 A. H. = 861 A. D.).
"	"	323	Death of al-Muntaṣir.
f 112b	"	324	Caliphate of al-Musta'in. (248 A. H. = 862 A. D.).
"	f 71b	325	Deposition of al-Musta'in.
"	"	326	Caliphate of al-Mu'tazz (251 A. H. = 866 A. D.); his murder by the Turks.
f 113a	"	327	Caliphate of al-Muhtadī. (255 A. H. = 869 A. D.); also murdered by the Turks.
"	"	328	Caliphate of al-Mu'tamid. (256 A. H. = 870 A. D.).
"	"	"	The rise of the Ṣaffārids.
"	f 72a	329	Caliphate of al-Mu'tadhid. (279 A. H. = 892 A. D.).
"	"	330	'Alī, the Caliph, warns al-Mu'tadhid in a dream against persecuting his descendants.

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"	"	332	Caliphate of al-Muktafi. (289 A. H. = 902 A. D.).
"	"	333	Carmathian revolt.
f 114a	f 72b	334	Caliphate of al-Muqtadir (295 A. H. = 908 A. D.).
"	"	335	Muqtadir is deposed and restored: revolt of the Turkish army.
f 114b	"	336	Ibn 'l-Mu'tazz and the Turkish King-makers.
"	"	337	Prediction of the historian Ṭabarī about the unsettled affairs in the reign of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz.
"	f 73a	338	Murder of al-Muqtadir. The quarrel of al-Amīn and al-Ma'mun, a similar historical parallel.
"	"	339	Caliphate of al-Qāhir. (320 A. H. = 932 A. D.).
"	"	340	al-Qāhir's evil conduct leads to his murder.
f 115a	"	341	Caliphate of ar-Rādhī. (322 A. H. = 934 A. D.).
"	"	342	Account of ar-Rādhī's succession and reign.
"	"	343	Caliphate of al-Muttaqī (329 A. H. = 940 A. D.).
"	f 73b	344	Caliphate of al-Mustakfi — Rise of the Buwayhids (333 A. H. = 944 A. D.).
f 115b	"	345	al-Mustakfi blinded and murdered. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i Tājī</i> as the source).
f 116a	"	346	Caliphate of al-Muṭfi. (334 A. H. = 946 A. D.).
"	f 74a	347	Caliphate of at-Ṭā'i. (363 A. H. = 974 A. D.).
"	"	348	Caliphate of al-Qādir. (381 A. H. = 991 A. D.). ('Unsurī's <i>Memoria Technica</i> of the Sāmānids is cited).
"	"	349	Rise of the Ghaznawid power.
f 116b	"	350	Caliphate of al-Qā'im — Rise of the Saljūq Power. (422 A. H. = 1031 A. D.).
"	"	351	Caliphate of al-Muqtadī. (467 A. H. = 1075 A. D.).
"	f 74b	352	Caliphate of al-Mustazhir. (487 A. H. = 1094 A. D.).
f 117a	"	353	Bahrāmshāh, the Ghaznawid.
"	"	354	Caliphate of al-Mustarshid. (512 A. H. = 1118 A. D.). (Mu'izzī's quatrain in praise of Sanjar at the victory over Qaracha cited).
"	"	355	al-Mustarshid assassinated by the "Khurram-Dīnān".
"	"	356	Caliphate of ar-Rāshid (529 A. H. = 1135 A. D.).
f 117b	"	357	Caliphate of al-Muqtafi. (530 A. H. = 1136 A. D.).
"	"	358	Caliphate of al-Mustanjid. (555 A. H. = 1160 A. D.).
"	"	359	Caliphate of al-Mustadhī. (566 A. H. = 1170 A. D.).
"	f 75a	360	Caliphate of an-Nāṣir. (575 A. H. = 1180 A. D.).
f 118a	f 75b	361	Caliphate of az-Zāhir. (622 A. H. = 1225 A. D.).
f 118b	"	362	Caliphate of al-Mustanṣir. (623 A. H. = 1226 A. D.).
			N.B. i. Contemporary accounts. ii. Connection of the Caliphs with the Indian rulers of the author's time. iii. Iltutmish, the patron of the author, as the vice-regent of the Caliph. The chapter ends with contemporary accounts and a short eulogy upon the Wazīr.
			Part I, Chapter VI: On the Excellence of Justice and of Just Kings.
f 118b	f 76a		Introduction: a dissertation on the virtue of justice, with a panegyric on the Wazīr. (Anwarī's satire on poets cited).
f 119a		363	How the torments of hell were mitigated to Nūshīrwān and Ḥātim of Ṭayy.

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f 119a	f 76a	364	Bahrām Gúr and his minister Rást-rawish. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 19—25). (See above, pp. 76—84).
f 119b	"	365	Núshírwán punishes the governor of Ádharbáyján at the complaint of an old woman. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 28—35).
"	"	366	Story of an Indian Ráy's justice to the persecuted Muslims of Kunbáyat (Cambay). (Autobiographic: data for the residence of the author, as a judge in that place about 620 A. H.).
f 120a	f 77a	367	The famous story of Qubád and the milk-maid.
f 120b	"	368	Ma'mún discovers the grave of Núshírwán and finds his body undecayed.
"	f 77b	369	The old woman who refused to sell her house, which was situated in the great palace of Núshírwán.
"	"	370	Núshírwán and Mazdak: Núshírwán suppresses the Mazdakites and restores peace to the land.
"	"	371	The Caliph al-Mahdí appears before the judge: his law-abiding character.
f 121a	"	372	The king of Kirmán and the treasure-finder.
"	"	373	Story (from Indian sources) of the honest buyer of a house wherein was concealed a treasure.
"	f 78a	374	Memorable justice of the Indian ruler حاك (probably Jaysingh): The tank of Nuh-Lak in Nahrwála built from the unclaimed money on deposit.
"	"	375	King Hurmuzán and a comparison of the duration of the life of a hawk and a vulture.
f 121b	"	376	Warning of the Indian Ráy to the king of Turkistán.
"	"	377	A tyrannical king reproved by a madman.
"	f 78b	378	How the king of Kirmán lost his three fingers.
f 122a	"	379	How the Qaysar's life was spared by the Caliph.
"	"	380	The Ráy and his perfidious brother, the governor of Nahrwála, who wanted to poison him.
"	"	381	How al-Mu'tadhí detected the peculations of a judge and restored the stolen purse. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 77—80).
f 122b	f 79a	382	How 'Adhudu'd-Dawla made the Qádhí return the two jars filled with <i>Díndrs</i> , which he was refusing to the owner. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 69—77).
f 123a	"	383	Amír Ismá'íl b. Aḥmad the Sámánid and the hoax about the treasures of 'Amr b. Layth. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 14—17).
"	f 79b	384	How a courtier's tyranny results in the death of a Persian king.
"	"	385	The Sultan Maḥmúd punishes publicly a courtier for his tyrannical exactions.
"	"	386	The Caliph 'Umar, the widow of a warrior and her orphans. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> p. 128).
f 123b	"	387	How 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-Azíz was scrupulously honest about public rights, so much so that he closed his nostrils when the musk of the war-spoil was brought to him.
"	f 80a	388	How Alptigin won Ghazna by an act of justice: the Turkish guards and the poultry.
"	"	389	Muḥammad b. Isháq, the ruler of Khúzistán, and his most capable and just Wazír.
f 124a	"	390	Núshírwán's chain and the old ass. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 36—37).

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f 124a	f 80b	391	How Tamghāj Khān the Great, the ruler of Samarqand, prevented a rise in the price of meat.
f 124b	"	392	The deaf king of Chīn orders red clothes to be worn by the oppressed (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> p. 10).
"	"	393	Malikshāh the Saljūq and the old woman whose cow was killed by his slaves.
"	f 81a	394	The Qādhi of Raqqā compels 'Isā b. Ja'far to discharge his liabilities. (The <i>Khalqu'l-Insān</i> , as the source. See above, p. 66).
f 125a	"	395	al-Mu'tadhid abides by the decision of Abū Hāzim, the judge, about the inheritance of Ṣafi(?), his store-keeper.
"	"	396	How Sultan Sanjar atones for accidentally shooting a child in Ṭālaqān.
f 125b	f 81b	397	How the Rāy of Nahrwāla كورمال submitted himself to the punishment of being burnt to death by the Brahmins.
"	"	398	The Sultan Maḥmūd kills a miscreant in the dark, lest he might recognise in him his own son.
f 126a	f 82a	399	Story of a tailor who made the Amīr pay his debt to the merchant. The significance of his prayer-call at an unusual hour. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, pp. 17—19, also <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 45—54).
f 127a	f 82b	400	Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī refuses to confiscate the wealth of Awsābhar(?). The chapter ends with a eulogy upon the Wazīr.
			Part I, Chapter VII: On the Virtues and Memorable Traits of the Kings.
"	f 83a	401	Introduction: The ten supreme qualities of the ancient Persian kings observed by Ibnu'l-Muqaffa'.
f 127b	"	402	The qualities which secured promotion in ancient Persia. (The <i>Kitāb-i-Ayāt-i-Mulūk</i> as the source. See above, pp. 56, 57).
"	"	403	Kay-Qubād on the splendour of the kings. (Zahīru'd-Dīn Fāryābī cited).
"	f 83b	404	Abū Muslim's advice about the colour of cloth (<i>vis</i> , black) which was recommended by Ardashīr to his sons.
f 128a	"	405	Abu'l-Qāsim Ḥuṣayrī's advice to Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the Ghaznawid,] about administration.
"	"	406	The Sultan Ibrāhīm Radhiyyu'd-Dīn's anxiety for the appointment of the successor of his old chamberlain.
"	f 84a	407	Sultan Maḥmūd's policy in punishing a beautiful fugitive Turkish slave.
f 128b	"	408	The Caliph al-Mu'taṣim's unlucky choice of his favourites.
"	"	409	Sabuktigīn's advice to his son, Maḥmūd, to build the garden of Magnanimity. (Nizāmī-i-'Arūdhi-i-Samarqandī's famous lines cited).
f 129a	f 84b	410	'Umar II's conception of leadership.
"	"	411	The Caliph 'Umar's kind treatment of his slaves.
"	"	412	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhīr adopts the Persian custom of giving justice to all on the day of Nawrūz and Mihrgān.
"	"	413	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhīr acknowledges the claims of a noble of Ghazna and appoints him as the Governor of Bāward.
f 129b	f 85a	414	Abū Sahl-i-Tustarī's advice to Ziyād b. Sahl and his benevolent government of Khurāsān.

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f 129b	f 85a	415	Majdu'l-Malik, the Wazir of the Saljūqs in Nishápúr, usurps an old woman's house and the Sultan Ibráhīm Radhiyyu'd-Dīn of Ghazna recompenses her.
"	"	416	Muhallab b. Abī Šufiā's happy choice of Málík as an ambassador to the court of Hajjāj.
f 130a	f 85b	417	The Caliph al-Manšūr rewards an Arab for his witty remark.
"	"	418	How Núshírwán, pleased at the witty remark of a trader, permits him free passage.
f 130b	"	419	Sabuktigín advises Maḥmúd about the welfare of his people during his absence.
"	f 86a	420	The great Famine in Ištákh, and the Kisrá's generosity that restores peace and plenty.
"	"	421	The two precepts of the governor of Iṣfahán as the key-note of his success.
f 131a	"	422	Yaḥyá b. Khálid, the Barmecide's posthumous generosity as experienced by an ardent lover. (Dihqán 'Alī Shaṭranjī cited).
"	"	423	Hajjāj's advice to 'Abíd b. Yazíd al-Muḥáribí, on entrusting him with the governorship of Ahwáz.
"	f 86b	424	Dá'úd-i-'Abbás adopts a mild policy and restores his kingdom.
f 131b	"	425	Núḥ b. Manšūr the Sámánid's justice to the herdsmen saves him from the attack of 'Amr b. Layṭh.
"	"	426	The Caliph al-Ma'mún forgives the jeweller who broke a very large and precious ruby.
f 132a	f 87a	427	The Caliph al-Mahdí's order to exhibit 'Isábád to friends and foes alike.
"	"	428	The Caliph al-Mahdí's generosity in buying a slave-girl at the request of an ardent lover.
"	"	429	False charges of a fugitive slave investigated by al-Manšūr, who finds the Kúfi master innocent.
f 132b	f 87b	430	How Naṣr b. Aḥmad, the Sámánid, cured himself of his hot temper, and became famous for his clemency.
"	"	431	al-Ma'mún and the letter-box: why al-Ma'mún burnt the letters addressed to him by al-Amín's favourites.
f 133a	"	432	How Mu'áwiya secretly rewards a person from the Hījáz.
"	"	433	The Ambassadors from Rúm and Ḥabash at the court of al-Ma'mún.
"	f 88a	434	al-Ma'mún rewards Ṭáhir b. 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir with the captured treasures of Egypt.
f 133b	"	435	Isháq-i-Mawṣilí points out to Mu'taṣim his defective choice of favourites.
"	f 88b	436	al-Manšūr advises al-Mahdí to restore the confiscated property of the public.
"	"	437	How al-Mahdí indirectly punishes Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa al-Báhilí through the governor of Khurásán.
f 134a	"	438	The judge, Muḥammad b. 'Imrán aṭ-Ṭalḥí, summons the Caliph al-Manšūr to his court.
f 134b	f 89a	439	Ḥamza b. Shaybán's(?) importunate visits to al-Manšūr and his simultaneous rewards.
"	f 89b	440	How al-Manšūr, the Caliph, detected a profligate thief, and restored the treasure.
f 135a	"	441	How 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir punishes his nephew, the Governor of Herát.
"	"	442	Amír Ismá'íl Sámání pays damages for the trespass committed by his camel.

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f 135b	f 90a	443	Shamsu'l-Mulk, the son of Tamgháj Khán the Great, punishes Hájib Ulugh by billeting a regiment of Turks on him. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír. Part I, Chapter VIII: On the Witty Sayings of the Kings. A short Introduction: Kings' Words are the Kings of Words.
"	"	444	The saying of the Persian king Húshang: "I am a blessing to the law-abiding and a scourge to the reactionaries."
f 136a	"	445	Hájjáj justifies his harsh conduct before the Imám Sha'bí as needful to the times.
"	f 90b	446	Afrídún, the great legislator, and one of his sayings; and the five indispensable vocations.
"	"	447	The famous speech of the king Minúchihr on his accession to the throne.
f 136b	f 91a	448	Afrásiyáb's exhortation: Do or Die.
"	"	449	Kay-Qubád's method of administration: Classification of officers & offices.
f 137a	"	450	Alexander not afraid of the comparatively huge army of Dará.
"	"	451	Núshírwán's simile of the world and its inhabitants (Fáryábl cited).
"	"	452	Núshírwán ever conscious of his duty to the Creator.
"	"	453	Núshírwán's humble prayer to God after his brilliant victory over Mazdak.
"	f 91b	454	al-Manşúr's reply to Abú Bakr Şandálí about the grievances of the people.
"	"	455	The Caliph al-Manşúr prays for the soul of Ibráhm b. Isháq 'Aqlí, his foe.
f 137b	"	456	The Caliph Hárún's wish to bestow some land on Mu'taşim and his witty remark to Fadhl b. Rabí'.
"	"	457	Marwánu'l-Himár refuses to buy the favour of Muḥammad Ibráhm by marriage.
"	"	458	al-Manşúr's offer to Ru'ba, the poet, in reward for his poetry: 3,000 <i>Dinars</i> or three counsels.
"	"	459	The lament of Marwán II after his deposition.
"	f 92a	460	The causes of the downfall of the Umayyads.
"	"	461	al-Ma'mún tells Ibráhm Nakha'í the etiquette of drinking.
f 138a	"	462	as-Saffáh's proclamation of amnesty to the people of Kúfa.
"	"	463	al-Mu'taşim's warning to 'Abdu'llah b. Táhír after his victory over his rivals.
"	"	464	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán's counsel to his sons.
"	"	465	An Arab king deposes some officers but pays their salaries.
"	f 92b	466	A Persian king's regard for an old faithful servant.
f 138b	"	467	al-Hájjáj's statement about the places in which good and evil are found together.
"	"	468	al-Manşúr's immediate reply to the ambassadors from Rúm, about the three defects in the new palace.
"	"	469	Núshírwán's ideal to be free from sin and danger, expressed in his council with the Ráy of India, the Khán of Turkistán and the Qaysar of Rúm.
"	"	470	Núshírwán's opinion of life and death.
"	"	471	Jadhímatu'l-Abrash and the king of Rúm on the accomplishments of their sons.
f 139a	f 93a	472	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán's counsel to his sons on the conduct of life.
"	"	473	Ibnu'l-'Abbás's admiration for Mu'áwiya's ideal of life.

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f 139a	f 93a	474	The four superior qualities in Mu'āwiya which overthrew the Caliph 'Alī.
"	"	475	Shāpūr b. Ardashīr's advice to his son Hurmuz about the art of government.
"	"	476	The four wise precepts of Yazdigird b. Bahām Gūr highly appreciated in the court of al-Manṣūr. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam</i> as the source, see above, pp. 55—60).
f 139b	f 93b	477	Parwīz orders the decapitation of a proud Governor.
"	"	478	Parwīz's counsel to his son about the army.
"	"	479	The extent of Parwīz's love for Shīrīn.
"	"	480	The first appearance of the Caliph 'Uthmān on the pulpit.
"	"	481	'Uthmān the Caliph's piety and generosity in the pre-Islamic days.
"	"	482	The Caliph 'Uthmān explains the failure of his mild policy to critics. (The <i>Gharīb u'l-Ḥadīth</i> as the source). The chapter ends with a short eulogy upon the Wazīr.
Part I, Chapter IX: On the Punitive system of the Kings.			
f 140a	f 94a	483	A short introduction. 'Uthmān the Caliph's warning to the wicked and blessings to the peaceful.
"	"	484	Shāpūr b. Ardashīr's advice to his son to beware of revolution and mob-fury.
"	"	485	The Caliph al-Manṣūr rids himself of Abū Muslim, his benefactor, as he was growing dangerous.
f 140b	"	486	al-Ḥajjāj selects 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. 'Amr at-Tamīmī as his vice-gerent on account of his scrupulousness and justice.
"	f 94b	487	Núshīrwān's proclamation against crime and murder — branding of criminals —.
"	"	488	A king of Tukhāristān orders the trial of a favourite courtier for murder, while the opponent excuses him and accepts the blood-price.
"	"	489	Atābak-i-Zangī, a king of Persia, sentences a vagabond of Shīrāz to death.
f 141a	"	490	A similar instance of Sharaf's treachery in the time of Sultan Quṭbu'd-Dīn Aybak, (related by the author, al-Awfi, himself).
"	"	491	Ḥajjāj's warning to the people of Kūfa.
"	"	492	The intrigues of the general, Abu'l-'Abbās, and his assassination in the reign of Ghiyāth u'd-Dīn. (Another contemporary incident).
f 141b	f 95a	493	Sultan Maḥmūd severely punishes his chamberlain.
"	"	494	Sultan Maḥmūd's admonition to his brother Amīr Naṣr by ordering the Royal drums to be beaten at his door (retold in pt. IV. ch. ii. Ancc. 1802).
"	"	495	Ḥammād attacks Faḥl b. Yaḥyā, the Barmecide, for his impertinence before Hārūnu'r-Rashīd.
"	"	496	Bābak-i-Khurramī brought before Mu'taṣim and killed at the advice of Afshīn.
f 142a	f 95b	497	Ṣadīf's ode in praise of as-Saffāḥ and the assassination of Sulaymān b. Hishām and his son at the poet's instigation.
"	"	498	The Caliph al-Hādī kills two women caught committing an unnatural offence.
"	"	499	'Adhudu'd-Dawla drowns his favourite slave-girl, since his infatuation for her weaned him away too much from state affairs.
f 142b	f 96a	500	Amīr Ismā'īl b. Naṣr Sāmānī's shrewd policy and the capture of Sanjāb. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Amīr Ismā'īl [wa] Naṣr b. Aḥmad Sāmānī</i> is indefinitely mentioned as the source)(?).

A	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 143a	f 96a	501	Abú Muslim's furious gaze strikes terror in the heart of a criminal.
"	"	502	Terrorism of princes: Mu'tasim and Marwán — illustrated from the fable of a hawk and a hen.
"	f 96b	503	Núshírwán punishes a boon-companion for furthering the interests of a cruel Amír.
"	"	504	Núshírwán throws to the dogs the body of a rebellious governor of Armenia.
"	"	505	al-Manşúr counts only four great names among the Umayyads and omits that of 'Umar II.
f 143a	"	506	The Caliph Hárún and his last order for the destruction of the Barmecides, — another cause of their downfall connected with their secret protection of Yaḥyá b. 'Abdu'llah b. al-Ḥusayn al-'Alawí.
f 144a	f 97a	507	The Caliph 'Uthmán expounds the art of government.
"	"	508	An instance of Ṭamgháj Khán the Great's stern justice.
"	"	509	How Ṭamgháj Khán arrested and slew the band of robbers in Samarqand.
f 144b	f 97b	510	al-Manşúr punishes Rabī', the chamberlain, and the wardrobe-keeper for a slight neglect of duty.
"	"	511	as-Saffáh dismisses a favourite, and reinstates him after a long time.
"	"	512	'Umar II's views on equity and justice.
"	"	513	Hishám b. 'Abdu'l-Malik's punishment of a cruel governor.
f 145a	"	514	The three unpardonable acts in the eyes of the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
"	f 98a	515	'Abdu'llah b. Ḥusayn's mighty stroke in beheading a prisoner of Rúm handed over to him for execution by Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, the Caliph.
"	"	516	The tyrannical extortions of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, and his just doom at the hands of al-Mutawakkil.
"	"	517	al-Mu'tamid orders on his death-bed the execution of 'Amr b. Layṭh.
"	"	518	Confiscation and physical torture as deterrent of crime in the days of the Kisrás.
"	"	519	A general of Hurmuz pays heavy damages to a gardener, lest Núshírwán should come to know of his cruelty.
f 145b	"	520	Sultan Maḥmúd inspires awe in the mind of a general and stops blackmail.
"	f 98b	521	A courtier expires at the summons of Sultan Muḥammad Saljúq.
"	"	522	Sultan Maḥmúd punishes severely and hangs one of his elephant-keepers. (Cf. <i>B. T. M.</i> pp. 557—8) see above, pp. 60—64. The chapter ends with a short eulogy on the Wazír.
Part I, Chapter X: Answers to Petitions, and Royal Mandates.			
"	"	523	A short introduction. Núshírwán's order to supply as usual the luxuries supplied to his predecessors, at the petition of the cup-bearer.
"	"	524	Baṭlímús's reply to the notables of Damascus: the Šāḥib Ismá'íl b. 'Ab-bád endorses his view.
f 146a	"	525	A clever reply of Kisrá to his sons at their request to be taught statecraft.
"	f 99a	526	Another benevolent order of Kisrá about the property of an Indian caravan in Persia.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 146a	f 99a	527	Kisrá stops innovations and issues orders to the governor of Tabaristán.
"	"	528	Núshírwán's two decisions: one against a well-known secretary, another for the patronage and protection of an upstart.
f 146b	"	529	Núshírwán as the observer of traditions rather than of intentions.
"	"	530	Alexander's disparaging remark about the huge army of Dará.
"	"	531	Ardashír's clever reply to his courtiers about the fault of one of them.
"	f 99b	532	Kisrá's reply to the governor of Rayy, charged with oppression.
"	"	533	Núshírwán hangs a Satrap for disgracing an old noble of his court.
"	"	534	Núshírwán's administrative genius evinced at the early age of 19.
f 147a	"	535	The last advice of Arjásp, the king of Turkistán, to his son.
"	"	536	Famine in Yaman and the Kisrá's generous offer at the request of Nu'mán b. Mundhir.
"	"	537	as-Saffáh lavishes money on his favourites at his accession.
"	"	538	Hishám b. 'Abdu'l-Malik's foresight as shown in his reply to a petition against 'Ísá b. 'Adí without reading it.
f 147b	f 100a	539	al-Ma'mún's order about the wealth left by 'Amr b. Mas'ada.
"	"	540	al-Mu'tasim's similar statement about the legacy of a noble.
"	"	541	Shápúr-i-Dhu'l-Aktáf's answer to the complaint of the people of Iştakhr.
"	"	542	Núshírwán's intention to hold a council of 100 wise men, opposed by his nobles.
"	"	543	Núshírwán's 11,000 pensioners and his unpaid army's demand against them.
"	"	544	Sultan Maḥmúd's decision in favour of the army against the civilians.
"	"	545	Núshírwán's advice to one of his silly courtiers.
f 148a	f 100b	546	Kisrá's advice to the invading army at the death of a rebel Qayşar of Rúm.
"	"	547	'Abdu'llah b. Yaḥyá Kháqán awaits a lucky moment for forwarding public papers to al-Mutawakkil.
"	"	548	Núshírwán's angel of victory in the garb of an old man clothed in white garments.
f 148b	"	549	Sultan Maḥmúd's reply to the Wazír at his hint about the reward of 100,000 <i>Dinárş</i> to the Amír of Jurján.
"	f 101a	550	Amír Naşr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid's impartial decision in an acute contest between two nobles.
"	"	551	Ṭamgháj Khán, the Great, orders the hand of a thief to be cut off.
f 149a	"	552	Ṭamgháj Khán Ibráhm ibn al-Ḥusayn ashamed of a peasant whose complaint he did not hear.
"	"	553	Sultan Tukush b. Íl Arslán Khwárazmsháh dismisses Bakhtiyár, the governor of Ṭús (a play on the words Bakhti-yár and Ráyi-gán).
"	"	554	The above Sultan orders the remission of taxes for crossing the river Ámúy.
"	"	555	The same Sultan orders the remission of taxes at the request of the poets of Bukhára.
"	"	556	Şadr-i-Jahán 'Abdu'l-'Azíz b. 'Umar saves the honour of a foreign scholar in Samarqand.
f 149b	f 101b	557	Another instance of his generosity.
"	"	558	Sultan [Sanjar's] reply to a complaint against one of his officials who had built a palace in Raqqá [or Marw].

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 149b	f 101b	559	Amír Ismā'īl the Sámánid's advice to the invading army of Khurásán.
"	"	560	A Christian monk lodges his appeal for justice through ash-Sha'bí in the court of 'Abdu'l-Malik.
"	"	561	'Amr b. Layth reminded by a sage that life consists, not in years, but in fame. (The poets al-Mutanabbí and Saná'í cited).
f 150a	"	562	Ruqayya, an 'Alawí lady-scholar, of Nishápúr, rebuts 'Amr b. Layth by reciting a counter-verse from the Qur'án.
"	f 102a	563	The eloquent plea of a blind old man in the court of al-Mutawakkil.
"	"	564	Afiásiyáb's reply to his rivals, the four sons of Farídún. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XI: On the Sagacity of eminent persons.
f 151b	"	565	Short Introduction: Choice of Adam at Jibrá'il's offer of the three heavenly gifts.
"	f 102b	566	Yahyá b. Khálid the Barmecide charged with misappropriation and speculation, acquitted and rewarded by al-Manşúr.
f 152a	"	567	The conquest of Kúfa by Harthama b. 'A'yan prophesied by himself.
"	"	568	The clever trick of Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid upon Yahyá b. Aktham before al-Ma'mún.
"	f 103a	569	Ibráhīm Mawşil's ingenious device to prevent calamity falling on Fadhl b. Marwán, the minister of Mu'taşim.
f 152b	"	570	Yahyá b. Khálid the Barmecide divines the secret of Hárún 'r-Rashíd.
"	"	571	Ja'far the Barmecide foretells his own doom and discovers Hárún's evil intention.
"	"	572	The clairvoyance of the Caliph 'Umar on the occasion of Naháwand. (Anec. repeated, see above, I. iii. 79).
"	"	573	The Caliph 'Alí's lines on his own murderer, 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán b. Muljam.
"	f 103b	574	The claims of the 'Abbásids manifested in as-Saffáh and al-Manşúr before their accession.
f 153a	"	575	The two alleged reasons for the enmity of Walíd b. 'Abdu'l-Malik towards 'Alí b. 'Abdu'llah b. 'Abbás.
"	"	576	al-Manşúr selects Baghdád as the site of his capital after an examination of its soil.
"	"	577	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán's farewell to his favourite slave-girl and the clever guesses of the poet Kutḥayyir.
f 153b	f 104a	578	Muḥammad b. Simá'a and Imám Sháfi's right guesses.
"	"	579	Imám Sháfi's search for knowledge and his experiments in the science of physiognomy and his correct readings. (The <i>Kitábu'l-Furása</i> is mentioned in this connection, see above, p. 100).
"	"	580	Abu'l-Husayn or Ḥasan Daylamí's experience with a psycho-analyst of Antioch.
"	"	581	Abú Sa'íd Kharráz doubts the honesty of a Dervish and is exposed.
"	"	582	Khayr-i-Nassáj and Junayd of Baghdád read one another's thoughts.
f 154a	"	583	Abú Bakr-i-Shiblí burns the robe of 'Abdu'llah Rází along with his cap, as a punishment and disciplinary measure.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES,
f 154a	f 104b	584	Junayd of Baghdād and Sariyyu's-Saqāfī; the former's first sermon and the conversion of a Christian.
"	"	585	Ibrāhīm Khawwaṣ points out a Jew in his meeting and thereby converts him.
"	"	586	Physiognomists tell the Caliph Hārūn about the true parentage of his supposititious son.
f 154b	"	587	The story of the Jinnīs and the lad from the Banū Jusham.
"	"	588	The two brothers of Banū Asad, their companion, strange occurrences, and augury.
"	f 105a	589	The young physiognomist Aflmūn (Polemon) reads the true nature of Hippocrates the philosopher, (the <i>Kitāb'ul-Firāsa</i> is referred to as the first work of its kind, see above p. 100).
f 155a	f 105b	590	‘Alī b. Jahm, the poet, relates a story before al-Mutawakkil about the communion with spirits and information derived secretly through them.
f 155b	"	591	Abū Umāmatu'l-Bāhilī's quest for a true religion and his acceptance of Islam at the hands of the Prophet.
f 156a	f 106a	592	‘Abdu'llah b. ‘Abbās realises the truth of the predictions of an old soothsayer.
"	"	593	How the Caliph ‘Uthmān's aunt predicts his marriage with Ruqayya and his faith in the Prophet.
f 156b	f 106b	594	A skilful lad challenges a party of fowlers, of whom Abu'l-Husayn ‘Arūdhī was one, and catches birds without nets and surprises them.
"	"	595	The prophecy of Abū Ayyūb about the future greatness of his son, Sulaymān b. Wahb and the downfall of the son of the reigning Wazīr Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu'l-Malik.
"	"	596	Another version of the same story.
f 157a	f 107a	597	‘Abdu'llah b. Ziyād erects an inn at Baṣra called the Dāru'l-Bayḍīhā, and an Arab makes a prediction.
"	"	598	Mulāzīm b. Ḥārith Ḥanaff's story of a young prisoner who takes an omen and is delivered from the prison of Ḥajjāj. (<i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, p. 127—8).
f 157b	"	599	A shrewd guess of ‘Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān about Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abdu'llah, the governor of Ahwāz.
"	"	600	Aḥmad b. Yazīd the secretary tells a story of Mūsā b. ‘Abdu'l-Malik's foreknowledge and the warning given by him to one of his governors named Shujā‘.
"	"	601	al-Manṣūr guesses rightly about the buyer of a big fish, that he must be very rich, and thereby finds the man to have been bribed.
"	f 107b	602	al-Manṣūr detects a miser who concealed his wealth, and posed as a beggar.
f 158a	"	603	Three clever men detect a thief of Ahwāz and recover the stolen purse of a trader of Baghdād.
"	"	604	Another story of a boy who traced a blind negro thief.
"	"	605	Hārūnu'r-Rashīd's letter sent to ‘Amr b. Ma‘ada through his brother Abū ‘Ubāda, the consultations of the two brothers, and Hārūn's foresight in telling them what passed between them.
f 158b	f 108a	606	Yaḥyā b. Fadhl, the Barmecide, before his trial predicts the future of the ‘Abbāsids, and recommends Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid the Squint to Fadhl b. Sahl: The story of the letter torn in two pieces.
f 159a	f 108b	607	Zubayda's taunt and Hārūnu'r-Rashīd's prediction about the future greatness of Ma'mūn and his succession.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 159a	f 109a	608	Muḥammad b. Naṣr's story of Músá b. 'Abdu'l-Malik 'Abbás's sagacity.
f 159b	"	609	Story of the constant twitching of the eye-lids as indicating good-luck.
"	"	610	Amír Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid raises Abú 'Alí Chaghání to the rank of a governor, and predicts that he will turn a traitor to his sons later on.
"	"	611	Abú Naṣr Mushkání points out to Sultan Maḥmúd why he cannot enjoy the pleasures of his beautiful garden at Balkh.
f 160a	f 109b	612	Sultan Maḥmúd foresees the future of his empire and reads the character of his two sons Mas'úd and Muḥammad. (Story related by Abú Naṣr Mushkání). The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XII: On sound judgments which enhanced the success of Kings.
			Introduction in which the excellence of mature judgment is shown. (Mutanabbí is cited and the author's own work, the <i>Kitáb-i-Mádayihū's-Sultán</i> , is referred to).
"	"	613	A philosopher's opinion about the comparative merits of wisdom and bravery.
f 160b	f 110a	614	Abú 'Abdi'llah advises al-Manṣúr to train al-Hádí his son in his own presence.
"	"	615	Ṭamgháj, the governor of Damascus, detained from the holy pilgrimage.
"	"	616	Shír advises Abu'l-Jaysh Khúmárawayh b. Aḥmad b. Ṭúlún (270—282 A. H. = 883—895 A. D.) not to send his ring as a sign of truce to the defeated Kháqán-i-Muflijí, the ally of Afshín.
"	"	617	The Qayṣar of Rúm abstains from invading the country of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán while he is engaged in war with Muṣ'ab.
f 161a	"	618	Háshim b. Aḥmad prevails upon Ḥasan b. Ismá'íl not to cook any dish for the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, lest he might be accused of poisoning.
"	f 110b	619	The Prophet solves the riddle of the resetting of the Black Stone.
"	"	620	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir proves loyal to his master the Caliph al-Ma'mún, who appointed him as the Governor of Egypt.
f 161b	f 111a	621	The advice of Abú Manṣúr Ṭalḥa to the Amír Ismá'íl the Sámánid against his brother Naṣr.
f 162a	"	622	How Khwāja Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí was saved from the wrath of Sultan Maḥmúd.
f 162b	f 111b	623	Sulaymán the Prophet refuses the cup of Eternal Life.
"	f 112a	624	The misfortune of al-Amín due to the lack of experienced counsellors.
f 163a	"	625	Diw-i-Gáw-Páy, the king of the giants, and the counsel of his three ministers.
"	"	626	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán advised to appoint his son to the Department of doles, public grants and war plunder, in order to win popularity.
f 163b	f 112b	627	'Alá'u'd-Dawla Mas'úd the Ghaznawid collects the corrupted Indian coin and issues genuine ones, in order to restore public peace.
"	"	628	The king of Zábulistán decoyed to ruin by a faithful Wazír of his opponent the Rája of Qannúj.
"	f 113a	629	A hoax played upon Sultan Maḥmúd, during his campaign of Somnath, by the Hindús.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 164a	f 113a	630	The Amīr Ismā'il b. Aḥmad the Sāmānid burns the letters sent to 'Amr b. Layth by the traitors in his own camp.
"	"	631	Furū'an or Furughan(?), the field-marshal of 'Amr b. Layth, invades Shākāwand and cheats Kamlū(?), the Rāja of India.
"	f 113b	632	Sabuktagīn plays a trick upon Abū 'Alī Sīmjurī and defeats him.
f 164b	"	633	'Amr b. Layth hangs an old counsellor of the Amīr of Sīstān lest he might dislodge him one day.
"	"	634	Sultan Maḥmūd's trick against the fugitive slaves who joined the rebellious party of Khalaf b. Aḥmad of Sīstān.
"	f 114a	635	The story of the two slaves of Alexander, Nadhīr the punisher and Bashīr the rewarder, as narrated by Qābūs b. Washmgīr.
f 165a	"	636	The reason of Khwaja 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd's imprisonment. (The <i>Kitāb Ganj-i-Khīra</i> of the same person is referred to).
"	"	637	Alexander adopts the institution of Mulūku't-Ṭawa'if at the advice of Aristotle. (Anec. repeated, see <i>supra</i> Anec. 154).
"	"	638	Dihqān-i-Hishām pretends illness and saves his property from the machinations of 'Alī b. 'Īsā Māhan.
"	f 114b	639	The Sultan Maḥmūd trapped in a covert after his victory at Khwārazm escapes cleverly incognito.
f 165b	"	640	Mu'taṣim sends a poisoned turban to 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhīr and invites him through a beautiful girl, and Ismā'il his counsellor's warning.
"	"	641	Aḥnaf b. Qays's desire to cope with 'Amr ibnu'l-'Āṣ in the "Arbitration", and 'Alī's absolute refusal to give him the power of mediation.
f 166a	f 115a	642	Ma'n b. Zā'ida's stratagem against a governor of Yaman to gain the favour of al-Manṣūr.
"	"	643	Ḥamid-i-'Abbās imprisoned by Ismā'il-i-Bulbul, released at the intercession of an old friend. T. F. S.
"	f 115b	644	How Aḥmad b. 'Īsā b. Zayd and Qāsim b. 'Alī, the father of the claimant Muḥammad Abī'l-Qāsim, escape from prison. T. F. S.
f 166b	"	645	Ma'mūn's preference for his Shī'a followers from Khurāsān, their incapacity, and the appointment of the people of 'Irāq for the settlement of the revenue. (T. F. S. pt. II, ch. vii, p. 8).
"	"	646	Rupture between Sa'īd b. Makhlad and the Amīr Abū Nūḥ at the court of al-Mutawakkil, and their reconciliation through their friends' diplomacy.
f 167a	f 116a	647	The ruin of Banī Qurayza due to the rejection of Ka'b b. Asad al-Quraẓī's proposals. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 685—6).
"	"	648	The disagreement of Durayd b. aṣ-Ṣimma of the tribe of Jusham and Mālik b. 'Awf of the tribe of Naṣr, and their defeat and ruin. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 840—6).
f 167b	"	649	The Prophet approves the plan of retreating quietly, if the Battle of Badr proved a failure. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 439—40).
"	"	650	Abū Jahl rejects the counsel of 'Umayr b. Waḥb Jumahl before the Battle of Badr, and is defeated in the end. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 441—2).
"	f 116b	651	The Prophet orders a hasty march to Madīna, as a counter-stroke to the threat of 'Abdu'llah b. Ubayy b. Salūl who wanted to create a split between the "Anṣārs" and the "Muhājirs". (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 726—7).

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 168a	f 117a	652	The dissatisfaction of the "Anṣāris" at the Prophet's lavishing rewards on the new converts of Quraysh after the victory of Mecca, and the Prophet's soothing appeal. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 880—882, 885—6).
"	"	653	‘Amr ibnu'l-‘Āṣ's slackness and the Caliph ‘Umar's strong determination to stop heresy at the death of the Prophet.
f 168b	f 117b	654	Khálid b. Walíd's campaign against the impostor Musaylima.
"	"	655	Nomination of generals by the Caliph ‘Umar and Khalid b. Walíd's victory over Rúm.
"	f 118a	656	Khálid b. Walíd captures a band of unbelievers that lived in the midst of a desert.
f 169a	"	657	Khálid b. Walíd's capture of Damascus.
"	"	658	The disaster to the Muslim army under Abú ‘Ubayda ath-Thaqaḥī in one of his Persian campaigns.
"	"	659	The advance of Qa‘qá‘, and the victory of Jalúlá.
f 169b	f 118b	660	‘Umar's determination to fight at Naháwand and strike at the heart of the Persian Empire immediately, against the malicious advice of the Marzubán.
"	"	661	‘Umar and Qays b. Aḥnaf's plan to give a deathblow to the remaining power and prestige of Persia.
"	"	662	‘Alī's proposal about the arrangement and leadership of the Persian campaign, which was accepted by the Caliph ‘Umar.
"	f 119a	663	A stratagem of Talḥa for the evacuation of a fortress on the occasion of the Battle of Naháwand.
f 170a	"	664	Aḥnaf follows a suggestion of one of his soldiers and defeats Yazdigird.
"	"	665	Heraclius's advice to his men on the approach of the Muslim army.
f 170b	"	666	The Caliph ‘Uthmán's consultation regarding the improvement of the Provincial administration and the management of his lieutenants.
"	f 119b	667	The Caliph ‘Alī's help to ‘Uthmán in the administration of the Caliphate.
"	"	668	The Caliph ‘Alī's persistence in deposing Mu‘áwiya against the sound judgment of ‘Abdu'llah b. ‘Abbás.
f 171a	f 120a	669	Aḥnaf b. Qays's promise of support to ‘Alī against ‘Ā'isha.
"	"	670	The intrigues of Mu‘áwiya against Qays b. Sa‘d b. ‘Abbád, the governor of Egypt, to weaken the power of ‘Alī.
f 171b	f 120b	671	Mu‘áwiya strengthens his own cause under pretence of the avenging the murder of ‘Uthmán the Caliph.
f 172a	"	672	Negotiations and promises between Mu‘áwiya and ‘Amr ibnu'l-‘Āṣ for the purpose of overthrowing ‘Alī.
"	f 121a	673	‘Amr ibnu'l-‘Āṣ's diplomatic stroke at the close of the Battle of Šiffin. "The Word of God as the sole arbitrator".
f 172b	"	674	‘Amr ibnu'l-‘Āṣ's hypocrisy in the "Arbitration".
f 173a	f 122a	675	How Mu‘izzu'd-Dawla suppressed the revolt of Rúzbihán the Daylamite governor of Ahwáz.
			The chapter ends without any praise or conclusion.

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			Part I, Chapter XIII: On Wiles and Stratagems in Statecraft.
f 174a	f 122b	676	Introduction. The Prophet agrees with the tactics of Nu'aym b. Mas'úd aḥ-Thaqaḥ against the Jews of Banī Qurayza. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 680—2).
f 174b	f 123a	677	The encounter of the two artful personages — the Artabun or Arṭiyyun of the Byzantines and the Arṭiyyun of the Arabs, <i>i.e.</i> , 'Amr ibnu'l-'Āṣ.
"	"	678	'Abdu'llah b. 'Āmir besieges Nīshápúr, finds it impregnable, but at last forces the enemy to evacuate it by a stratagem. (Cf. the fall of Troy).
"	f 123b	679	The celebrated revenge of Zabbá against Jadhímatu'l-Abrash (the <i>Kutāb-i-Kalīla wa Dimna</i> is referred to).
f 175b	f 124a	680	The hoax of Majjā'a b. Murára the Musaylimate against Khálid b. Walíd to save his tribe.
"	f 124b	681	Tactics of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqás about reinforcement, and his great victory at Qádisiyya.
f 176a	"	682	Trouble in 'Irāq and Khurásán in the time of the Caliph 'Uḥman, and the artifice of 'Abdu'llah b. 'Āmir in defeating Qárún.
f 176b	f 125a	683	Imám Ḥasan abdicates the Caliphate and Mu'áwiya prevails upon Qays and Sa'd-i-'Ubáda to acknowledge him as the leader.
"	"	684	The poisoning of Imám Ḥasan at the instigation of Mu'áwiya.
f 177a	f 125b	685	The suppression of the Khárijites by Muhallab b. Abī Šufra.
"	"	686	The advance of Qutayba b. Muslim towards Khurásán and Transoxiana, and the capture of Khwarazm in the days of Ḥajjáj.
"	f 126a	687	Qutayba and his brother Šálih force the surrender of Samarqand.
f 177b	"	688	The old woman who duped Hárúnu'r-Rashíd and got a thousand dínars from him for showing the hidden place of Ibráhím Mahdí, his rival.
"	"	689	A Marzubán saves his life by a clever trick before the Caliph 'Umar.
"	f 126b	690	The surrender of a besieged army whose provisions were destroyed by the malicious agency of Alexander.
f 178a	"	691	The fable of the powerful serpent and the artful mouse. (Taken from an Indian source).
"	"	692	How Qubád cheated the thieves and recovered his jewellery by threats.
"	"	693	The Rája of Gujrát and Nahrwála called Jaysingh threatens the Rája of India, called Duwarka (?), by exerting magical power.
f 178b	f 127a	694	Harḥama's hoax upon Abu's-Saráyá about the news of the death of the Caliph.
"	f 128a	695	How Qábús b. Washmgír, having been murdered by his son, took posthumous vengeance by poisoning him (the story of the <i>Ḥabbu'l-Jimd</i>).
f 179a	"	696	How Muḥammad b. Abu'l-Qásim b. 'Alí b. Ḥusayn escaped by the help of a rope from the prison of Mu'tašim (<i>T. F. S.</i>)
f 179b	"	697	The arrest of Abú Muslim and his treacherous assassination. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Khulafá-i-Banī 'Abbás</i> as the source). See above, p. 47.
"	f 128a	698	Ḥasan-i Zayd 'Alawí selected as leader in Ṭabaristán and the retreat of the army of Sulaymán b. Muḥammad the governor of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir.
"	f 128b	699	Ya'qúb b. Layṭh's trick with Runabil (?). The capture of Bust, the murder of Šálih b. Našr, his master, and the annexation of Sístán.

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f 180a	f 129a	700	Qásim the ruler of Herát revolts against Ya'qúb b. Layth, his suppression at the hands of Jaghlán, and the annexation of Kirmán to Herát.
"	"	701	Ya'qúb b. Layth's advance towards Fárs, the capture of Shíráz, imprisonment of Musta'in's generals, 'Alí b. Husayn and Tawq b. Qays, and recognition of their power by the Caliph Muntaṣir and the overthrow of the Tāhirids.
f 180b	"	702	Balkátigín's advance upon Ghazna, Abú Ishāq, the Wazír of the Sámánids, cheated, and Sabuktigín's skill and bravery displayed.
f 182b	f 129b	703	Afshín excites rebellion through Mankajú; Mu'tasim sends Mus'ab b. Zubayr to suppress the revolt; Afshín's trial and execution.
"	"	704	Sultan Maḥmúd tricks Abu'l-Faḍl a spy of Abú 'Alí Símjúrí and defeats him.
"	f 130a	705	'Umlúq the tyrant of Yaman, his murder at the hands of Aswad b. Dihqán, and the vengeance taken for him by Khán Tubba'. — The eyes of Waiqá' of Yamáma.
f 182a	"	706	The Emperor of Rúm asks help from the King of Abyssinia against Dhú-Nuwás, who defeats Aryát, the Abyssinian general, by means of a stratagem.
"	"	707	Abraha defeats Dhú-Nuwás and revolts against Najáshí. His solemn vow and its fulfilment.
"	"	708	Nu'mán captures the fort of Naháwand by a surprise attack, and the great victory of the Muslims over the Persians.
f 181b	f 130b	709	Tāhir the Ambidexter defeats 'Alí b. 'Isá Máhán and decoys al-Amín's army to ruin.
"	"	710	Ya'qúb b. Layth's early life as a robber and his voluntary levies.
f 181a	f 131a	711	Another instance of his blackmailing a caravan from Multán.
f 181a,	"	712	How Ya'qúb b. Layth equipped his gang with horses by plundering a caravan from Baṣra and Ahwáz.
f 183a	f 131b	713	Ya'qúb b. Layth in the service of Šálih b. Naṣr, his treachery towards the sons of Ḥayyán the Khárijite, the ruin of Kuthayyir (b.) Warqá' and the strengthening of Ya'qúb b. Layth at the expense of both.
"	"	714	Ya'qúb b. Layth and Šálih b. Naṣr and the defeat of Muḥammad (b.) Ibráhim's army by a mean trick.
"	"	715	Ya'qúb b. Layth breaks with his master Šálih b. Naṣr, the ruler of Sístán, and creates dissension by embroiling the Sajzís with the Bustís, the two parties of the army of Šálih.
f 183b	f 132a	716	The vain attempts of Šálih b. Naṣr to recover Sístán from Ya'qúb b. Layth.
"	"	717	Ya'qúb b. Layth's ordeal of basking in the sun before setting out for the conquest of Herát in summer. (Anecdote found in pt. II, ch. xvii. 1452).
"	"	718	Ya'qúb b. Layth's attack on 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán the Khárijite, and the capture of the fort of Búsang (?) when winter and snow set in.
"	"	719	How Ya'qúb b. Layth deceived the ambassadors of Muḥammad-i-Wáṣil, and ultimately defeated the army of Muḥammad and conquered his territory.
f 184a	f 132a	720	Muḥammad-i-Wáṣil and Abú Ja'far unite forces against Ya'qúb b. Layth and invade Dínawar; 'Iyádh b. 'Amr the governor of Dínawar betrays them and orders a general massacre.

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f 184a	f 132a	721	Ya'qúb b. Layth captures Kirmán, Fárs, 'Iráq and Ahwáz; the Caliph Mu'tamid's campaign against him, and the flight of Ya'qúb ending in his death.
f 184b	f 132b	722	Garsíwaz's jealousy and his treacherous attempts to separate Afásiyáb and Siyáwush.
"	"	723	Khushnawáz's trick against Fíúúz and the destruction of the army of the latter by pit-falls.
f 185a	f 133a	724	The fable of the Lark and the Elephant.
"	"	725	The treacherous attack of Chengíz Khán on the City of Rayy and the vile massacre of 40,000 Muslims. (Probably the author was in Khurásán at this time).
"	"	726	Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Dín Muḥammad the Ghúrid's battle against Kúla at Sarhind, and his device to frighten the elephants of the enemy.
f 185b	"	727	The above Sultan's invasion of Khwárazm and his failure. Muḥammad in Khwárazm by a clever trick.
"	"	728	The mother of Khwárazmsháh stops the invasion of the Ghúrid, Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Din Muḥammad, while the King was absent with his army in Khurásán. (Author in Khwárazm).
"	f 133a	729	The attack of the same Ghúrid Sultan upon Khusraw-Malik, The Ghazna-wid, and the annexation of Lahore to the Ghúrid Kingdom.
"	f 133b	730	Malik Táju'd-Dín Ḥarb of Ghazna invades Sístán and captures the fort by a trick.
"	"	731	A clever trick of a Wazír of an Indian Rája called Fúr by which he destroys the Brahmins who had conspired against his life.
f 186a	"	732	Sultan Maḥmúd orders his son Mas'úd to arrest a band of robbers in the forest of Khabís near Ṭabas from amongst Kúch and Balúch.
f 186b	f 134a	733	How Sultan Mas'úd destroyed a band of robbers in Kirmán by the device of poisoned apples. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i>).
"	"	734	The goldsmith and the carpenter of Ádharbáyján who stole an idol from Constantinople and their disloyalty to each other.
f 187a	f 134b	735	How Maslama b. Abdu'l-Malik forces the evacuation of an impregnable fortress in Rúm. The chapter ends with a short eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter XIV. On the Able Wazírs and their statesmanship.
"	"	736	Introduction. Adhudu'd-Dawla defeats Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús b. Washmgír by the help of the minister, the Şāhib Ismá'íl b. 'Abbád.
f 187b	f 135a	737	The Şāhib Ismá'íl b. 'Abbád propounds four methods of subjugating the enemy before fighting.
"	"	738	The Qayşar of Rúm releases the prisoners of war of Ruknu'd-Dawla, being afraid of the shrewdness of the Şāhib Ismá'íl b. 'Abbád, his veteran counsellor.
"	"	739	Congratulatory letter of Sahl b. Hárún to Ḥasan b. Sahl on his appointment as the Wazír of the Caliph al-Ma'mún after the assassination of his own brother, the late Wazír.

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f 187b	f 135a	740	Adhudu'd-Dawla sends a sword to his Wazir Abū 'Alī Khaṭīr as a warning, and the Wazir's challenge by throwing down his pen in reply.
"	"	741	Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qābūs b. Washmgīr endorses the letter that passed between Fakhru'd-Dawla and the Wazir of Nīshāpūr with the remark that 'Pen' and 'Sword' are useless unless guided by sound judgment.
"	"	742	A Persian Wazir changes the issue of a battle by cleverly putting a dot under the word سپاهداران in the order issued by the king for the recall of the army (see Anec. 1152).
"	f 135b	743	The Caliph Hārūn appoints 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Mahān as the governor of Khurāsān against the sound advice of Yaḥyā b. Khālīd, the Barmecide, and repents for it in the end.
f 188a	"	744	An account of the rise of the great Wazir Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who first served under 'Izzu'd-Dīn Qifā'ī (?) or 'Azīzu'd-Dīn Fuqqā'ī (?) and was then given the charge of the revenue of Malikshāh the Saljūq.
"	"	745	How the Nizāmu'l-Mulk rewards the blind man by endowing him with an estate, in recompense for the money he had once stolen from the mosque.
"	f 136a	746	How the Nizāmu'l-Mulk rescues Malikshāh the Saljūq who had accidentally fallen into the clutches of the Qaysar of Rūm and defeats him and obtains from him cleverly a large piece of land in Constantinople for erecting a convent. (The latter portion of this anecdote is quoted in the <i>Tajārību's-Salaf</i> . See Browne, G. or. 3. f 138b).
f 188b	"	747	How Qāsim b. 'Abdu'llah's secrets leaked out and how he detected the secret agent and regained the favour of the Caliph al-Mu'tadhid.
f 189a	f 136b	748	How Mūsā b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, the Wazir of al-Mutawakkil, averts disaster by stealing the order of the Caliph from 'Attāb and pleading guilty.
"	f 137a	749	How Aḥmad [b.] Abū Khālīd warns 'Amr b. Mas'ada of the displeasure of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, and explains before the Caliph his own obligations to Aḥmad.
f 189b	"	750	A witty remark of an official newly appointed by Sulaymān b. Wabḥ stops his master from the bad policy of changing officials suddenly.
"	"	751	The Wazir Abū'l-'Abbās ibnu'l-Furāt dissuades the Caliphs Muktafi and Muqtadir from granting fertile lands to his favourites, the Amīr Bū Ṣayqānī and Muḥliḥ.
"	f 137b	752	Qāsim b. 'Abdu'llah, the Wazir of Mu'tadhid blackens a yellow spot on his dress, thinking that an ink-stain on the garment of the Wazir was not so bad as on that of any other person.
"	"	753	A Wazir of an Indian Rāy prefers to squint in the presence of the king for twenty years, lest he might be suspected of indecent behaviour on a past occasion.
f 190a	"	754	A capable Wazir of Nūshīrwan, when maliciously charged with misgovernment, asks the king for a barren piece of twenty Jaribs, as pension allowance. The king, finding none, is convinced of the good management of the Wazir and restores him to favour.
"	"	755	A wealth-amassing Indian Rāy advised persistently by his able Wazir to

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			muster armies against his enemies. — The demonstration and counter-demonstration of a bowl of . . . (?) and flies.
f 190a		756	Abu'l-Qásim Isrá'íl advises Abú Ayyúb Sulaymán b. Aḥmad b. Sulaymán al-Múriyání to send Khálid the Barmecide to Khurásán, and thus keep himself safe from the danger of poisoning the Caliph's al-Manşúr's ears.
f 190b		757	Mu'áwiya b. 'Abdu'llah beseeches the Caliph al-Mahdí not to kill 'Abdu'llah b. Ḥasan the 'Alawid, and thereby receives blessings from the Caliph 'Alí in dream.
"	f 137b	758	The bold reply of Abú Manşúr Zamání or Rayyání, the Wazír of the Sultan Ṭughril, when asked by the king the cause of delay — Homage to the Lord first, the service of the king next.
f 191a	"	759	A contrast of the two Wazír's, the Khwájá Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí and the Nizámu'l-Mulk: the former refuses to present a slave to the Sultan Maḥmúd, whereas the latter enlists two thousand slave-guards in the service of Maliksháh at a slight hint.
"	"	760	The reply of a Wazír of a Persian king about the cause of the popularity of his father's rule — his sense of opportune action.
"	"	761	Buzurjmíhr's ideal of a Wazír and his qualifications.
"	"	762	Fadhī b. Sahl, the Wazír, stops the Caliph al-Ma'mún from playing chess, while urgent state affairs required his attention, which act is first resented by the Caliph, but is ultimately appreciated.
f 191b	f 138a	763	al-Múriyání's dishonesty about the grant of land to Šáliḥ the Miskín, and Khálid the Barmecide's good opportunity to win the Caliph al-Manşúr's favour and overthrow his rival.
"		764	Ḥasan b. Aḥmad the Wazír of Abu'l-Jaysh Ṭúlún cautiously stops the payment of rewards ordered by the king in drunkenness.
"	f 138a	765	'Alí b. Haytham or Háshim's (?) observation on the rise and fall and pomp and poverty of Ḥasan b. Sahl the Wazír: at one time a leather bag was all he possessed, and at another a thousand camels were not sufficient for loading his baggage.
f 192a	"	766	'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, the Wazír of Marwán b. Muḥammad — his firm loyalty to his master to the last.
"	"	767	The firm friendship and mutual sacrifice of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa' and 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd.
"	f 138b	768	Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, the Wazír, Ba'albak the cryer of prayer, and Sallám the Ḥadí, the servants of the deposed Marwán brought as captives before the Caliph al-Manşúr, who orders the assassination of the former and releases the other two.
"	"	769	The disgrace of Fadhī b. Rabī' as a warning to the higher officials.
f 192b	"	770	Poverty of Khálid the Barmecide in his early days, and Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid al-Aḥwal's timely help, and Khálid's advice to his son and how Yaḥyá observed it.
f 193a	"	771	Ḥasan b. Sahl abides by the slip of his pen in awarding 100,000 <i>Dirhams</i> to a needy water-bearer, lest the correction of it might suggest his weakness.
"	f 139a	772	Abu'l-Ḥasan ibnu'l-Furát, the Wazír of Muqtadir, forgives Sulaymán b. Makhlad at the invocation of his mother. (T. F. S.).

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f 193a	f 139a	773	Rayyān-i-Šalt favoured by Fadhl b. Sahl becomes very prosperous. (<i>T.F.S.</i> pt. II. ch. vii, pp. 5—7).
f 193b	f 139b	774	‘Alī b. ‘Īsā’s period of virtuous prime-ministership, in consequence of which his supplication for water in the desert is granted miraculously.
"	"	775	The Nizāmu’l Mulk repeatedly rewards a crook who appears at various times in various dresses, and in the end discloses his own knowledge of him.
"	f 139b	776	Abū ‘Alī b. Muqla, the Wazīr, takes pity on Muḥammad Jār and helps him.
f 194a	f 140a	777	Muslim b. Walīd’s story of Fadhl b. Sahl’s bounty after he became the Wazīr of the Caliph al-Ma’mūn.
"	"	778	Buzurjmihr blinded in prison, and how he read the puzzling letter of the Qayṣar of Rūm to Nūshirwān and his restoration to office.
"	"	779	The incarceration of a Wazīr and his twenty sons in a well; the Wazīr survives and gets into the favour of the Rāy and avenges himself.
f 194b	f 140a	780	Abū Ja’dā, the Wazīr of Marwan-i-Ḥimār goes over to the Abbāsids, but when Marwān’s head is brought before as-Saffāḥ, recognises it and calls him the late Commander of the Faithful. ‘Abbās b. ‘Alī urges that he should be put to death, but al-Manṣūr saves him, and in return he, when consulted by as-Saffāḥ, speaks in favour of al-Manṣūr’s succession.
f 195a	f 140b	781	The Caliph al-Muntaṣir ashamed of a meagre reward to a poet, and Hishām the Khaṭīb’s experience with Kawthar the factotum, who would not let the Caliph’s son count less than 1000.
"	"	782	Like the Khwāja Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandī, the Khwāja Abu’l-‘Abbās Isfarā’īnī refuses to give up a slave, whom the Sultan Maḥmūd wanted at his banquet, and thereby ruins himself.
f 195b	f 141a	783	Yaḥyā b. Khālīd the Barmecide used to ascertain the public opinion about the choice of provincial governors.
"	"	784	Yaḥyā the Barmecide’s policy of choosing experienced persons for responsible offices.
"	"	785	The Caliph al-Ma’mūn relates an instance of Fadhl b. Sahl’s foolishness before Yaḥyā b. Khālīd the Barmecide.
f 196a	"	786	Fadhl b. Sahl assumes the appearance of an old man at the remark of the ambassador from Rūm about his youth and experience in state-craft.
"	f 141b	787	Aḥūdu’d-Dawla’s reluctance to pay the yearly tribute to the Sāmānid ruler Nūḥ b. Manṣūr as contracted in the early days. Abu’l-Ḥasan b. ‘Īsā’s demand and the Šāhib Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abbād’s acquiescence in the established practice prevent a rupture between the Sāmānids and the Buwayhids.
			The chapter ends without a eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XV: On the advice given by sages and holy men to rulers.
f 196b	f 141b- f 142a	788	Introduction. Qādḥī Sawwār b. ‘Abdullah’s advice to the Caliph Manṣūr about the conduct of affairs.
"	f 142a	789	‘Amr b. ‘Abīd (?) tells his experience about the heirs of ‘Umar II, and Hishām the Umayyad.

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f 196b	f 142a	790	Shaqīq of Balkh's advice to Hārūnu'r-Rashīd about the duty of a Caliph.
f 197a	"	791	Fudhayl b. 'Iyāḥ's solemn advice to Hārūnu'r-Rashīd.
"	f 142b	792	Abū Ḥāzīm's holy gift to Sulaymān b. 'Abdu'l-Malik the Caliph, and the birth of 'Umar II.
"	"	793	The interview of 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. Abī Nu'aym and the Caliph al-Manṣūr.
"	"	794	'Amr b. 'Abīd reminds al-Manṣūr of the story of one loaf and a dish of "Sakbā".
f 197b		795	Dhu'l Qarnayn's visit to a land where the people had dug graves and used to eat herbs.
"	f 142b	796	Sālim Sindī's advice to 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l 'Azīz — the warning from the fall of Adam.
"	"	797	Ibnu's-Sammāk's advice to Hārūnu'r-Rashīd.
"	"	798	The interview of the Caliph Hārūn and Buhlūl.
"	"	799	Maḥmūd's visit to the Bīmāristān of Ghazna, and a madman's pithy remark.
"	"	800	Dhu'l-Qarnayn's interview with Socrates.
f 198a	f 144b	801	Manṣūr-i-'Ammār saves the Qādhī of Baghdād from perdition by a clever suggestion.
"	f 143a	802	Muḥammad ibnu's-Sammāk's remark awakens Hārūnu'r-Rashīd's conscience.
"	"	803	Hārūnu'r-Rashīd's visit to 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Ṣan'ānī, Sufyān b. 'Utba and Fadhl b. 'Utba during his pilgrimage, and the latter's observations to him.
"		804	Khālīd b. Ṣafwān's grave advice to the Caliph Hisham b. 'Abdu'l Malik.
f 198b	f 143a	805	Ibrāhīm b. Adham's four instructions to a sinner for his atonement in the form of a story.
"	"	806	Abu'l-'Abbās the commander-in-chief's question to Abū 'Alī Daqqāq.
"	f 143b	807	The four accursed things that rust the soul, according to the saint Muḥammad Wāsi'.
f 199a	"	808	The three things forbidden by Luqmān the Philosopher to his son, and how the son tested the wisdom of the prohibition.
"	"	809	A judge's unjustifiable mourning at the loss of his son, and how a monk's admonitory question put him right.
"		810	Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ-i-Kabīr consoled by the touching remarks of a madman and a singer.
"	f 143b	811	The advice of a sage to a Persian king; (the similes to be noted).
f 199b	f 144a	812	Núshīrwān the Just rewards two persons according to the comparative merit of their sayings.
"	"	813	'Umar II's pithy counsel to his lieutenants.
"	"	814	Núshīrwān's dying injunction to Hurmuz about the wording of the inscription on his grave.
"	"	815	Shaqīq of Balkh's three counsels to a camel-rider, who attempted, and was able, to walk on the water.
"	"	816	Núshīrwān's interview with a secluded monk and his advice to him.
f 200a	"	817	Aristotle's dying advice to his son to acquire the imperishable glory, <i>i.e.</i> , Knowledge.
"	"	818	Ḥātim Aṣamm's ordeal to control the birds on a tree before he is fit to preach.

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f 200a	f 144b	819	The admonition of a traveller dervish to a learned divine.
"	"	820	The submission of a proud divine and preacher of 'Iraq at the warning of Ibráhím b. Adham.
"	"	821	Abú Házim Laffáf's experience of 60 years and his dying words about the efficacy of trust in God.
f 200b	f 145a	822	Another pithy counsel of a holy man to his disciples
"	"	823	Manşúr-i-'Ammár's sermon to a king.
"	"	824	A slave-girl reproaches the Caliph Mahdí for his pomp; the Caliph is deeply moved.
"	"	825	The fable of two kinds of disasters; inference therefrom for the Caliph al-Mahdí.
"	"	826	'Abdu'llah b. Mubáiak gives five reasons for the corruption in Islam.
f 201a	f 145b	827	Wahb b. Munabbih recites to his audience Khidhr's advice to Moses.
"	"	828	The advice of a Prophet to a Jewish philosopher who had collected and studied many books.
"	"	829	The four renunciations enjoined by Hátim-i-Aşamm to a disciple of his.
"	"	830	Hasan of Başra's reply to one of the letters of 'Umar II.
f 201b	f 146a	831	Jealousy of 'Isám-i-Yúsof the Muftí of Balkh towards Hátim-i-Aşamm.
"	"	832	Shaqíq of Balkh's advice to an ascetic.
"	"	833	Shaqíq of Balkh's enumeration of four things which save from perdition.
"	"	834	The clothing of an orphan by Sariyyu's-Saqatí, and Ma'rúf's blessings on him.
f 202a	"	835	The reception and first sermon of Yaḥyá b. Mu'ádh Razí in Balkh.
"	f 146b	836	Ibráhím b. Adham's advice to a person.
"	"	837	Ibráhím b. Adham's advice to an elderly man.
			The chapter ends with a short praise of the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter XVI. On pithy and judicious answers given by wise men.
"	"	838	Introduction. The Caliph 'Umar excuses a sinner, when he reminds him of his neglect of three injunctions.
"	"	839	Happy retorts of a drunkard to the Amír of Balkh.
f 202b	f 147a	840	The retaliation of the Imám Hasan against Mu'áwiya.
"	"	841	Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya's reply about the Caliph 'Alí's sending him to the field and keeping Hasan and Husayn at home.
"	"	842	'Abdu'llah b. 'Abbás supports his prediction about the rule of 'Abdullah b. Muṭf and 'Abdu'llah b. Ḥanzala by a clever reply, when challenged by questioners.
"	"	843	Admonishing reply of Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥanafiyya to al-Ḥajjáj.
"	"	844	Hishám b. 'Abdu'l-Malik cooled down by the pointed reply of a convicted servant.
"	"	845	The three occasions upon which the Caliph al-Ma'mún was reduced to silence in spite of his ready wit.
f 203a	"	846	'Abdu'l-Masiḥ, the archbishop of Híra, gives evasive replies to Khálid b. Walíd while settling peace terms.
"	f 147b	847 bis	Witty remarks of a divine about cheese on and off the table of a Caliph.
"	"	847a	The Caliph Mu'áwiya's three piquant replies to Iyás, when three of his defects were pointed out to him.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 203a	f 147b	848	Jaḥáma (?) the Zindíq, when brought before the Caliph Hárún and questioned about his heretical conduct, acquits himself by blaming the Caliph in return.
"	"	849	The conspiracy of Dihqán of Baḥrayn against Mughíra b. Shu'ba, and the latter's counterstroke before the Caliph 'Umar.
f 203b	"	850	Brutal rejoinder of a rich pilgrim, a notable of Bukhárá, to a poor pilgrim, who had impudently challenged him. (Cf. Qábús-Nama, Litho. Ṭíhrán. P 20/1, Anec. same.)
"	"	851	Why Mu'áfá (?) b. Nu'aym and Ma'bad b. Ṭawq were saluted respectively by the Baní 'Anbar.
"	f 147b	852	Sátigín, the Turkish guard, defends the Turks from the charge of insolence by asking his critics the fate of the first four Caliphs, when there was no fear of Turks.
"	f 148a	853	The Qadhí Shurayḥ b. 'Abdu'llah's moral courage and bold replies to the Caliph al-Mahdí.
"	"	854	Bárbad the Minstrel in jealousy kills his slave musician, and Parwíz's order for his execution is averted by a clever reply.
"	"	855	Another witty reply of Bárbad, at which Parwíz releases a condemned courtier and rewards Bárbad. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> p. 118 and also <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, ch. IV, pp. 72—3).
f 204a	"	856	Murra (?) a friend of al-Ḥajjáj passes a witty remark about the government officials while blaming the scribes.
"	"	857	The wilful silence of Thumáma b. Ashras when the Wazír Fadhl b. Sahl wanted a corroboration of his denunciation of 'Abdu'llah b. Málik al-Khuza'i, and his clever defence.
"	f 148b	858	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán appreciates the explanation of Ibn-i-'Uyayna on his refusal of the offer of Egypt.
"	"	859	Ma'n b. Zá'ida's happy replies to the Caliph Hárún's queries.
"	"	860	'Attábí, the poet's, mixed condolence and congratulation, at the death of al-Hadí and the accession of Hárún to the Caliphate.
"	"	861	ash-Sha'bí as an ambassador to the court of the Qayṣar of Rúm, and how he removed the unfavourable impression produced by the Qayṣar's letter on al-Ma'mún (?). (Cf. Ibn Khallikán. <i>Wüst. Biog.</i> no. 316, story ascribed to Sha'bí and the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán).
f 204b	"	862	ash-Sha'bí's young nephew plays a practical joke on a retainer of an Amír, who took him as a bearer.
"	"	863	Ibn Ḥamdún's humorous remark about Yúnus (?), a favourite slave of the Caliph al-Mu'tazz.
"	"	864	Khálid b. Azhar's puns on his own, his father's name and the name of his native town, and his witty remark about a line of a poet on the bread of Káshán, his native place, and how the Caliph al-Ma'mún appreciated it and installed him as the governor of Jurján and Ṭabaristán.
"	f 149a	865	On the Caliph al-Manṣúr expressing resentment at the inefficiency of his own generals, and citing the instance of al-Ḥajjáj among the Umayyads, 'Abbás the courtier submits that al-Ḥajjáj was almost absolute, and that if the Caliph chose there were to be found many more efficient than he in the Caliph's army.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 204b	f 149a	866	A eunuch obtains his release by sophistry, when brought before the court of the Amīr Siddī (or Sindī) for peculation, by saying that just as the people falsely call him Siddī or 'Black', so also they have convicted him falsely.
f 205a	"	867	Thumāma retorts upon Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd, the sensitive Wazīr, by hinting that he was fit for the post of a minister, if offered.
"	"	868	A Rabbi taunts Khālīd-i-Qasīf for his disregard of the worshipfulness of Zayd b. 'Alī the descendant of the Prophet.
"	"	869	Hibatullah Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī embarrassed at the witty remark of the young son of al-Ma'mūn about his signet-ring.
"	"	870	An Arab among the 'Helpers' makes a sarcastic remark on the irritability of Aḥmad b. Abī Khālīd.
"	"	871	Duwayd of Khurāsān impeaches Qāsim b. Mujāshī' for asking leave from the battle-field; the latter's reply and Abū Muslim of Marw's appreciation.
"	f 149a	872	The Imām Ḥasan abhors war and bloodshed, and refuses to fight for Mu'āwiya against the rising of Duwaydatu'l-Asadī.
f 205b	f 149b	873	An Arab's trenchant remark on Mu'āwiya's miserliness at meals.
"	"	874	The Caliph al-Hādī forgives a condemned secretary who recites apologetic verses proper to the occasion.
"	"	875	The Caliph al-Manṣūr arrests Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥusayn and forgives him on his describing a certain type of hypocrisy, illustrated by Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad the sons of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn.
"	"	876	Turayḥ b. Ismā'īl ath-Thaqafī the poet's clever defence before the Caliph al-Manṣūr for having written an ode in honour of the Caliph Walīd b. Yazīd. (Cf. Ibn Qutayba's <i>ash-Shu'arā</i> , p. 427).
"	*	877	A drunkard and a Zindīq are brought before the tribunal; the former escapes punishment by a witty remark, while the latter is executed. (<i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, ch. IV. p. 73).
f 206a	"	878	The Caliph al-Hārūn excuses Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ash'ath on account of a witty reply of his.
"	*	879	Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī liberates a slave on account of a witty remark.
"	"	880	The Caliph al-Manṣūr incautiously orders Rayyān to execute Fudhayl b. 'Imrān al-Kūfī, but when the deed has been perpetrated accuses Rayyān, who saves his own neck by a pointed remark.
"	f 149b	881	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhīr refuses the bribe offered to him by the rebel 'Abdu'llah ibnu'r-Rāy of Egypt, and suppresses him, upon which the Caliph al-Ma'mūn appoints him governor of Egypt.
"	"	882	The Ṣūfī saint Ma'rūf of Karkh preaches the gospel of work; the Shaykhu'l-Islām 'Abdu'llah al-Anṣārī's couplet is cited in support.
"	"	883	Aḥmad b. 'Umar's pathetic appeal to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn to show mercy in this world, if he expects the same from God in the other.
"	f 150a	884	A poor old water-carrier explains to the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim the reason of the long lives of the honest labourers and the short ones of the idle rich. (Khāqānī cited).

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 206b		885	'Amr b. Aws of the Banī Azd cajoles Mua'wiya by calling him maternal uncle of the Muslims and thereby obtains his own release.
"	f 150a	886	The sharp retort of the Wazīr 'Abū 'Alī the Khaṭīb by sending a pen for the sword in retaliation for the threat of Ḥasanawayh the ruler of 'Irāq.
"	"	887	Witty remarks of an old person about the period of his past life as 4 years only and about planting a nutmeg tree at such a late period in life, and the Caliph al-Ḥārūn's appreciation and rewards. (Cf. <i>infra</i> III. iii. Anec. 1561 and also <i>S. N.</i> p. 118).
"	"	888	Abu'l-'Aynā' justifies his satires by citing two verses from the Qur'ān, to the effect that he praised the virtuous and condemned the wicked, upon which the Caliph al-Ma'mūn rewards him. (The author's own quatrain).
"	"	889	ash-Sha'bī defends his ignorance of a certain legal point, by quoting the famous verse — the reply of the angels to God about names.
"	"	890	'Abdu'llah b. Mubārak al-Marwazī rebukes an 'Alawī drunkard who called him the son of an infidel.
f 207a	"	891	'Abdu'llah b. 'Amr ibnu'l-'Āṣ as-Sahmī points out to Mu'āwiya the prediction of the Prophet about the murderers of 'Ammār b. Yāsir.
"	"	892	The Qādhī Iyās b. Mu'āwiya's piquant reply to a person who wanted to befool him about the legality of date-wine.
"	"	893	Iyās b. Mu'āwiya baffles Ḥakam b. Ayyūb, when the latter wanted to convict him as a Khārijite.
"	f 150b	894	The Imām Shāfi'ī explains to the Caliph Ḥārūn the utility of gnats in the scheme of universe, by saying that they are meant to humiliate the proud and show the weakness of man. (Anec. repeated; see above I. 1. 21).
"	"	895	The Sultan Bahramshāh of Ghazna punishes a minstrel whom he happened to see in the morning, but after his victorious return from his Indian campaign, the minstrel remarks that the king's seeing him had brought ill-luck to him (the minstrel), not to the king.
"	"	896	The irritating message of the Persian general Sulrāb and the reprimand of the Muslim general al-Muthannā.
"	"	897	A preacher gives an equivocal reply to a questioner from amongst his Māzandarānī Shī'a audience about the first lawful successor of the Prophet and obtains a reward from the ruler.
f 207b	"	898	Khālīd b. Ṣafwān's pithy description of the court of al-Mahdī.
"	"	899	The Caliph al-Mahdī's happy explanation of the release of the victims of his father's time.
"	f 150b	900	The pertinent reply of a plaintiff, who had come from Khurāsān to claim redress from the Caliph Ḥārūn against the tyranny of 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān.
"	"	901	A witty pretext of Ibnu'l-Hāshimī before his father, in defence of his behaviour while drunk. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> p. 118).
"	"	902	Abu'l-'Aynā's humorous replies to the questions of the Wazīr al-Muhallabī(?) about his unfortunate experiences in Iṣfahān.
"	"	903	The five precepts of a shepherd which contained the essence of wisdom.
"	"	904	Buzurjmīhr's alternative replies as to what is best for man; intellect; failing that, culture; failing that, concealment of one's defects; failing that, modesty; failing that, silence; failing all, death (Sanā'ī cited).

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 207b	f 151a	905	The Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad's intention to take revenge upon his old harsh teacher and the latter's judicious replies.
f 208a	"	906	A witty reply of a condemned stirrup-holder of the Kisrá.
"	"	907	The Kisrá orders the execution of a steward, who had accidentally spoiled his clothes, but on the victim's pouring the contents of the bowl on the royal head while justifying himself, the King forgives him (T. F. S.).
"	f 151a	908	The joke of a Persian ruler, Atábak Dakla (?).
"	"	909	Malik Muḥammad, the ruler of Kirman, discovers the joke played upon him, hinting at his fondness for wine.
"	"	910	The same ruler dismisses a treasurer who told a very lengthy story of his dream, on the ground that he must be in the habit of sleeping too long.
"	"	911	The young Faṭḥ b. Kháqán's brilliant reply to the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, when a guest in the palace of his father.
"	f 151a	912	The Sultan Bahrámsih of Ghazna's grudge against the Qādihí Abu'l-Barakát and the latter's clever defence.
f 208b	f 151b	913	The suggestive present of a mirror by Abú 'Alí Ayyúb, the Amīr of Fárs to the Caliph al-Mu'tazz.
"	"	914	Abú Dulaf b. Abí Dá'úd's explanation to his brother, why he took up the profession of a harpist after his past occupation as a warrior.
"	"	915	The Caliph al-Ma'mún asks Ḥasan b. Sahl why one should rely on the wise sayings of the bygone days.
"	"	916	Abú Rajá' Jábir b. Dhahhák gets the better of Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid in a contest in presence of the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
f 209a	"	917	Abú Ja'far-i-Gázur, a veteran of the Sámánid army, pleases 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Núḥ by justifying his nickname.
"	"	918	Baṭak(?)'s sarcastic reply to Abú Bakr b. Aḥmad in presence of the Ḥájib Khúmartigin.
"	f 151b	919	Retorts of an ugly person and a blind man on personal attacks.
"	"	920	al-Ḥajjáj illustrates the destruction of the gate of Jerusalem which the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik had erected, and the preservation of the one that he himself had built, by an apt comparison with the acceptance and rejection of the sacrifices of Hábíl and Qábil.
			The Chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I. Chapter XVII. On the Anecdotes of the Qādihís or Judges.
"	f 151b	921	Introduction. A robbery in the house of an old miser, and the consolation offered to him by a learned neighbour.
"	f 152a	922	A funny genealogical puzzle solved by a Qādihí at the court of the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán.
f 209b	"	923	The Qādihí Yahyá b. Akṭham solves another riddle of a similar kind.
"	"	924	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaybání's legal device to absolve the Wazír and to please the Caliph al-Hárún.
"	f 152a	925	Abú Ibráhīm b. Ismá'íl b. Aḥmad al-Muzan's two visits to the Ṭulúnid ruler Aḥmad and his opinion on chess.
"	"	926	The Caliph is persuaded by the Qādihí Yahyá b. Akṭham to prohibit <i>mufa</i> , which he had permitted in a captured town of Rúm.

A.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f210a	f152b	927	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭahir's three questions and Abu's-Samiá's solutions.
"	"	928	Isma'il b. Ḥammad b. Abí Ḥanifa, the Qādhí of Baṣra, devises a plan to relieve his friend from the demands of his creditors.
"	f152b	929	Abu Yúsuf as a poor student, and the Imám Abú Ḥanifa's patronage and encouragement of his learning.
f210b	"	930	The problem of the divorce of Zubayda, and the solution attempted by the Qādhí Abú Yúsuf and the consequent reward and emolument.
"	f153a	931	The limitation of the indefinite vow of al-Mutawakkil to seventy-one <i>Dinirs</i> , suggested by the Imám Muḥammad ibnu'r-Ridha.
"	"	932	The Imám Abú Yúsuf's congratulations to Zubayda on the <i>Bay'at</i> of her little son al-Amín as the innocent Caliph.
"	"	933	Congratulation of a Qādhí to Abu'l-'Abbás Furát on his appointment as governor of Kúfa, and the misinterpretation of the word 'عد' by a slave.
f211a	f153a	934	The subtle device of the Imám Abú Ḥanifa to detect the real mother of a disputed child.
"	"	935	Sagacity of the Imám Abú Ḥanifa in detecting the thief that had stolen a treasure, which he had concealed under a tree.
"	"	936	Abú Ḥanifa suggests a means of destroying a bath-house that was damaging the house of the adjacent neighbour.
"	"	937	Another artifice suggested by Abú Ḥanifa to punish an impious neighbour who had erected a high building.
"	"	938	How Abú Ḥanifa got back the five <i>Dirhams</i> which a wretched water-bearer had extorted from him, while on his way to the Pilgrimage.
"	"	939	How Abú Ḥanifa baffles a dishonest trustee by challenging him in the matter of testimony.
f211b	f153a	940	Abú Ḥanifa's device to separate the twins, of whom one was dead.
"	"	941	Another shrewd guess of Abú Ḥanifa in detecting mother and son, in the person of husband and wife, who had come to consult him.
"	"	942	Abú Ḥanifa's clever device in making a plaintiff identify the robbers who had made him swear not to expose them.
"	f153b	943	How Abú Ḥanifa baffles the Khawárij and convinces them through the strength of their belief concerning the commission of capital sins.
"	"	944	The cutting reply of Abú Ḥanifa to a Jew, who had questioned the existence of any medical knowledge in the Qur'án.
"	"	945	Abú Ḥanifa's reply to a questioner about the proper function of each organ.
"	f153b	946	Abú Ḥanifa's practical reply to the question of a woman about purity, by cutting an apple in half.
f212a	"	947	Abú Ḥanifa suggests a legal device to a person who in reality did not want to divorce his wife.
"	"	948	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan the disciple of Abú Yúsuf's practical joke on a person who wanted to absolve himself from ' <i>Dhakát</i> '.
"	"	949	Another suggestion by a pupil of his to a butcher, who also wanted to free himself from the same obligation.
"	f153b	950	Another student of the same plays a practical joke on a miserly baker in Egypt.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 212a	f 153b	951	The Qādhī Iyās b. Mu'āwiya's shrewdness in guessing the echo caused by a howling dog chained at a well. (Cf. Ibn Kh. Wust. Biog. 104).
"	"	952	Another right guess of the same Qādhī about the flies and the serpent. (Cf. <i>Ibid.</i>).
"	"	953	A clever method of detecting a dishonest litigant.
"	"	954	Abu'l-Fadhl Kirmanī's expression of mixed grief and joy at the court of the Sultan Sanjar and hint at the inappropriateness of his reception in comparison with that of the illiterate son of the late Qādhī.
f 212b	f 153b	955	Abū Bakr-i-Warrāq at-Tirmidhī's secret lessons from the immortal Khidhr. (Cf. <i>A. T. A.</i> Pt. II. pp. 91—93).
"	f 154a	956	How Abū Bakr-i-Warrāq's book on " <i>The Law and the Path</i> " was corrected mysteriously by Khidhr. (Cf. <i>Ibid.</i> ascribed to Muḡ. b. 'Alī al-Ḥakīm).
"	"	957	The perfect knowledge of Muḡammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī, acknowledged by his preceptor Abu Bakr-i-Warrāq. (Cf. <i>Ibid.</i>).
"	"	958	The marriage of Abū Ḥaḡḡ-i-Kabīr, and his ordeal before he attained perfection.
f 213a	"	959	The favourite maid-servant of Abū Ḥaḡḡ-i-Kabīr advises him to placate his enemies before starting to preach in Bukharā.
"	f 154b	960	The strict impartiality of the Qādhī Shurayḡ while hearing the litigation between the Caliph 'Alī and a Jew.
"	"	961	The Imām Ismā'īl(?) visits Ilak (Qadhi(?)), and points out to him his deficiencies in governing the country, and relates what the people think of him.
"	f 154b	962	The Imām Muḡammad Naḡr's warning to the Sultan Qadr Ṭamghāj the Ilak Khān of Samarqand.
f 213b	"	963	The Qādhī Shurayḡ demands the price of a horse from the Caliph 'Umar and compensates the loss of his opponent.
"	"	964	'Amr b. 'Ubayd, the leader of the Mu'tazilites, is exposed to shame by a pupil of the Imām Abū Yūsuf.
"	"	965	The intricate problem of "Exception in an oath", and the arguments advanced by the Imām Abū Yūsuf in the presence of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn.
"	f 155a	966	The hesitation of the Qādhī Ibnu's-Sawwār in accepting the evidence of 'Alqamatu'l-Māzini.
f 214a	"	967	Discussion between 'Abdu'r-Raḡmān Muṭṭawwi'ī the Muftī of Balkh and Khwāja Imām Bakr Ḥāmid Bukhārī on the comparative merits of a " <i>Ghāḡī</i> " and an " <i>Ālim</i> ". (Muḡammad b. Ḥasan's <i>Kitabu's-Siyari'l-Kabīr</i> is quoted).
"	"	968	How one of the Ḥanafite leaders saved his life from the attack of the mob on the question of the Takhlīq-i-Qur'ān by means of an evasive reply.
"	f 155a	969	The incidental victory of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa over the leader of the Mu'tazilites, and the emancipation of a slave-girl, after whom his pupil was hankering.
"	"	970	The argument of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa against a Zindīq about the punishment of the unbelievers which is latent at present, but will manifest itself in the after world.
"	"	971	How the Imām Abū Yūsuf, by solving the problem of <i>Isqāt-i-Istibrā</i> and enabling the Caliph al-Hādī to take possession of a slave-girl, secured his appointment to the office of Qādhī at Baghdād.
f 214b	"	972	Explanation of the Imām Abū Yūsuf to Muqātil-i-Rāzī about the refusal

A	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			of a present, his justification for accepting the Judgeship of Baghdád; and his suggestion of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan his colleague as suitable for Rayy.
f214b		973	The Qādhī Shā'ik's reply to the Caliph al-Mahdí, as to what he should have to do if the evidence of his son the crown-prince was to be taken.
"	f155a	974	How the Imám Abu Yúsuf astonishes a false prophet and punishes him severely.
"		975	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan's birth, coming of age, theological studies under the Imám Abu Yúsuf and Abu Ḥanfa, and the reason for compiling his <i>Kitāb u's-Siyar i'l-Kabir</i> .
"		976	The admiration of the Christian Fathers for the <i>Jāmi' u'l-Kabir</i> and its author and their consequent adoration of the Prophet himself, the fountain-head of all this knowledge.
"		977	The Caliph Hárún's respect for the learning of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan and his grief at the deaths of Kisa'í and Muḥammad in Rayy, on the same day.
f215a	f155b	978	Abú Yúsuf and Dá'úd-i-Ṭá'í, two disciples of the Imám Abu Ḥanifa: the former when the chief Qādhī of Baghdád visits the latter and expresses the wish of changing the tattered garments of Dá'úd, upon which Dá'úd replies, "Thou hast attained thy wish, and hence changed thy clothes, and if we also attain ours, we shall do the same".
"	"	979	Abú Yúsuf and Ḥammád the son of Abú Ḥanfa visit Dá'úd-i-Ṭá'í, and the latter offers him the gold which his father had left. Dá'ud's refusal and low estimation of worldly wealth.
"		980	How Dá'úd-i-Ṭá'í refuses money offered to him by Ḥasan b. Qaḥṭaba, the governor of Baghdád, and begs of him to be let alone.
"		981	A divorce riddle solved by Abú Qalaba(?).
"	f155b	982	Abú Ishāq al-Isfará'íní's arguments against the Karrámiyya sect and the Sultan Maḥmúd's conversion to the Sunní creed.
"		983	The theological controversy on the opening verse of the Qur'án between the Shāfi'ís and the Ḥanafís at the court of the Atábek of Hamadán and the Ḥanafite Qādhī of Sáwa's victory.
f215b	f155b	984	The interpretation of the idea of intensity and laxity in the faith of a Muslim given by the author's teacher Ruknu'd-Dín called the Imám-zádah of Bukhárá.
"	"	985	The Imám Faṣiḥ-i-Walwálají's(?) first reception in Farghána, and his pithy farewell remark to his audience about his marrying a musician girl.
"		986	Radhiyyu'd-Din Şawkhí or Súkhí's(?) legal solution of the Divorce formula which the Amír of Qáshán had pronounced. (The author relates it from Quṭbu'd-Dín a personal friend of Qáshání).
			There is no eulogy at the end of this Chapter.
			Part I. Chapter XVIII. On the Anecdotes of the Secretaries.
"	f155b	987	Introduction: A short discourse on the importance of the office of a Secretary. 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir Dhu'l-Yamínayn's epigrammatic epistle sent to al-Ma'mún after his victory over 'Alí b. 'Isá b. Máhán.

A.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f216a	f156a	988	'Amr b. Ma'sada, encounter with the "Weaver of words" and his brilliant description of the five kinds of secretaries, viz. for revenue settlement, civil procedure, criminal procedure, Army enlistment, and diplomatic correspondence. (<i>T. F. S.</i> Pt. II. pp. 35—8).
f216b		989	Yūsuf-i-'Ijlī, the secretary of 'Abdu'llah b. 'Alī the Umayyad and the Caliph al-Manṣūr.
"	f156b	990	The eloquent plea of an Arab for obtaining a reward from Abū 'Abdi'llah, the Wazīr of al-Mahdī, and the remark of his secretary.
f217a	"	991	Muẓaffar Khamj (?), the retired secretary of Malikshāh the Saljūq, and how he was installed in office by Sanjar without any effort of his own.
f217b		992	Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzā'i restored to the favour of the Caliph Hārūn by submitting an apologetic request.
"		993	Ibn Nawwāba (?), the secretary of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, composes the mandate about the reinstallation of Abū'l-Ḥasan Furāt to the Wizarat.
"		994	Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Isā drafts a mandate to the governor of Egypt, at the request of Ibn-i-Muqlā, after the restoration of al-Muqtadir to the Caliphate.
f218a	f157a	995	Abū Abdi'llah (?) the secretary forwards the pathetic appeal of Ibn-i-Muqlā to Ibnu'l-Furāt. Account of the intrigues of Ibn-i-Muqlā.
f218b		996	The Sultan Maḥmūd's threat to the Caliph, and the short reply of Ḥ from the Caliph, and its interpretation by Abū Bakr Quhistānī.
"		997	How the title of " <i>Mawlā</i> " was changed into " <i>Il'āl</i> " by the Caliph, at the clever suggestion of one of the secretaries of the Sultan Maḥmūd.
"		998	How the Sultan Maḥmūd mischievously obtains the mandate of the Caliph from the Court of the Khān of Samarqand and tries to excite the wrath of the Caliph.
f219a		999	How an unemployed secretary, a native of Baghdād, goes to Mawṣil and obtains office from the Ṣāhib-i-Dīwān of the Caliph al-Mahdī.
"		1000	A clever secretary who saves his employer, the governor of Ādharbāyjān from disappointment.
f219b	"	1001	Account of the release and appointment of 'Alī (b.) Ḥusayn Iskāfī, the secretary of Abū Mūsā Bughā-i-Kabīr.
"		1002	How an unemployed secretary obtains office from Abū'l-Ḥasan the governor of Iṣfahān.
f220a	f157b	1003	Appeal for redress sent by the Muslim prisoners in Byzantium to Sultan Sanjar, and the epistle sent by Mu'īn-i-Aṣamm, the famous secretary, to the Qayṣar of Rūm. [This epistle is cited from here in the <i>Āthārū'l-Wuzarā'</i> . See Or. 4107. Br. Mus. ff. 111—114].
f221a	f158b	1004	The epigrammatic challenge written by Abū'l-Qāsim Iskāf, the secretary of the Amīr of the Chaghānīs, to Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr the Sāmānid, his arrest and enlistment in the service of the Sāmānids.
"	"	1005	How Duwayb b. Tha'lab was punished secretly by a secretary of the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān.
"	"	1006	The inflammatory letter of Bū Sa'īd Jannābī. Qirmiṭi to the Caliph al-Mu'tadhīd, which was sent through 'Abbās (b.) 'Amr Ghanawī.
f221b	"	1007	The reply of an imprisoned secretary to a consolatory letter, through which he indirectly gains the favour of 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhir.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 221b		1008	How Fadhl b. Marwān, the Ṣāhib-i-Diḡwān of the Caliph al-Muṭaṣim, appoints Ibn-i-ʿArūs as his assistant at the recommendation of Yūnus b. Walīd al-Anbārī.
f 222a	f 158b	1009	The clever artifice of an unemployed secretary in al-Muṭaṣim's reign, who amassed wealth out of nothing.
"		1010	How Ṣalīḥ b. ʿAlī Kātib is restored to prosperity through the favour of Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid and is made the governor of Egypt.
f 222b		1101	How ʿAbdu'llah Hubayrī (?), one of the old clerks of the Umayyads, used to annoy Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid by his visits and how the Caliph al-Ma'mūn appoints him governor of Egypt.
f 223a	f 158b	1012	The tacit pact among three young friends: Abū Khālid, Abū ʿAbdi'llah Maḥdī and Abū Ayyūb, and how Abū ʿAbdi'llah when he obtained the office of secretary fulfilled his early promises.
"	f 159a	1013	How Ibrāhīm b. Rayyān, the assistant secretary of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdu'l Malik, the secretary of the Caliph al-Wāḡiq, was warned by the secretary and reminded of the dignity of the office.
"	"	1014	A secretary of Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbbās omits the date in a letter, and is reminded by his master of the importance of putting dates in correspondence.
"	"	1015	The clever suggestion of Sulaymān b. Waḥb, the secretary of the Caliph al-Muṭaṣim to Aḥmad-i-ʿAmmār about Iṣfāḥ (?), the chamberlain, one of the undischarged clients of the Caliph.
f 223b		1016	Khusrawshāh points out to Naṣru'llah b. ʿAbdi'l-Ḥamīd the etiquette of writing the name of a place in which the word Maḥmūd occurred.
"		1017	Another instance of Khusrawshāh the Ghaznawid's short method of correcting and replying to petitions.
"		1018	Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāt writes an euphemistic letter by the order of Sultan Utān with instructions to castrate Aḥmad Zawzanī, who had torn out one of the testicles of Abū ʿAbdi'llah in a fight.
"		1019	Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāt's request to the Sultan Sanjar to be sent back to the service of Sultan Utān.
f 224a		1020	ʿAlī [b.] Hayṭham (?) Thaʿālībī or Taghlībī (?) quits for ever the service of Fadhl b. Rabīʿ when abused by him once.
"		1021	How Yaḥyá b. Khālid the Barmecide rewarded ʿAbdu'llah (اسوان) (?) his secretary for having annoyed him.
"	f 159a	1022	The controversy of the commander (<i>amir</i>) and the secretary (<i>dabir</i>) about their respective merits.
"	"	1023	The author Muḥammad al-ʿAwfī's own discourse on the comparative merits of the sword and the pen, and an epilogue in which he declares that the services of both have tended to enhance the success of his patron Wazīr, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk Muḥammad b. Abī Saʿd al-Junaydī.
			Part. I, Ch. XIX: On the Anecdotes of Favourites and Courtiers.
f 224b	f 159b	1024	A short introductory note on the qualifications of a boon-companion. (Dihqān ʿAlī Shaṭranjī cited) The story of the two boon-companions of Jadhīmatu'l-Abrash, whose name became proverbial afterwards.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 225a	f 160a	1025	The four matchless things presented by Kayd the Indian Ray to Alexander the Great, <i>viz.</i> his daughter, a paragon of beauty; an accomplished physician; an excellent boon-companion and a magic cup.
f 225b		1026	Khwush-áizú's interesting replies to Parwíz's questions about choice dishes and other delicacies.
f 226a		1027	Abú Dulaf Khazrají's pithy answers to 'Adhudu'd-Dawla's query about drinking.
"		1028	Abú 'Alí Hášim, and Abú Dulaf Khazrají's contest of wit in presence of 'Adhudu'd-Dawla.
"	f 160b	1029	The Şáhib Ismá'íl b. 'Abbád's remark on drinking and the genesis of wine: — the story of the first experiment of Jamshíd on grapes — and why wine was prohibited by the Prophet.
f 226b		1030	Abú Bakr-i-Hudhalí cleverly reminds the Caliph al-Manşúr of his promise to bestow on him a slave-girl.
f 227a		1031	The Caliph (al-Manşúr) is pleased at the deafness of Barídí his boon-companion.
"		1032	A debate between a boon-companion and a secretary.
"	f 160b	1033	Ibráhm b. Mahdí, the uncle of al-Amín and al-Ma'mún, as an excellent boon-companion, and how he won the favour of the former.
"		1034	Isháq b. Ibráhm Mawşilí explains to the Caliph al-Wáthiq the cause of his declining the honour of being a boon-companion, while he was already holding the highest offices of police and justice.
"	f 161a	1035	al-Amín sends Ibráhm b. Mahdí to prison for an offence committed in an unguarded moment of conviviality.
f 227b	"	1036	A life-lasting bounty of al-Amín to his boon-companion Hasan-i-Dhahhák.
f 228a		1037	The Caliph Hishám b. 'Abdu'l-Malik sends for Hammádu'r-Ráwiya, the Rhapsodist, from Kúfa to discover the writer of a certain verse.
"		1038	Abu'l-Qásim Aḥmad, a courtier of Sayfu'd-Dawla, relates the story of Nátari (?).
f 228b		1039	The Şáhib Ismá'íl b. 'Abbád punishes an impudent favourite but releases him on his making a witty remark.
"	f 161b	1040	Badhí (?), a favourite of the Şáhib Ismá'íl b. 'Abbád, and his retort. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
Part I, Chapter XX: On the Anecdotes of Physicians.			
"	"	1041	An introductory note on the science of medicine. Hippocrates, the father of medicine, hesitates to leave his native place and rejects the magnificent offer of Bahráb b. Isfandiyár, the Persian king, through Filátús his own king.
f 229a	f 162a	1042	A practical prescription of Hippocrates — the physician, the patient and the disease are three in number: victory can be easily achieved by the combination of the first two.
"	"	1043	How Hippocrates examines the cause of the disease of the love-stricken prince, the son of Filátús and plans his marriage.

A.	G.	Scind.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 229a		1044	How Minubal (?), the Persian physician, suggested a remedy to Ja'far b. Yahyá the Barmecide in order to rid himself of a white spot of leprosy that had developed on his lip.
"		1045	How Minubal (?) detected the falsehood of an imbecile who used to boast of his extraordinary animal passion.
f 229b	f 162a	1046	A curious treatment by Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rázi, the famous physician. Haematemesis cured by making the patient swallow weeds called <i>Yama-i-Ghilk</i> and thereby drawing the leech out of his intestines. (Cf. <i>Arabian Medicine</i> , p. 74—5).
"		1047	ar-Rázi's similar treatment of a similar disease. (Cf. <i>Arabian Medicine</i> , p. 75).
"		1048	A physician from Baṣra cures a slave of Ibnu's-Ṣaydalání who had committed an unnatural act.
f 230a	f 162a	1049	Repartee of al-Ḥajjáj's physician to an eunuch.
"		1050	How a physician at the court of al-Ma'mún wrote a book on the preventives of wrong diets.
"	f 162a	1051	Wonderful treatment of apoplexy by Qatf, the Egyptian physician, — an apparently dead man restored to life by flogging.
"	"	1052	Another cure by the same physician — Locusts that had eaten the plant of Mádhariyún = <i>Daphne oleoides</i> or spurge-flax as a cure for dropsy (Cf. <i>Arabian Medicine</i> pp. 77—8).
"	f 162b	1053	The joint-treatment of a dangerous disease by Aristotle and Sarnáb or Sarbát, the Indian physician. — The use of anaesthetics, the trephining of the skull, perfection of surgical knowledge in India —. (Cf. <i>Arabian Medicine</i> , p. 79).
f 230b	"	1054	The famous physician Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rázi cures an intestinal obstruction with mercury.
"	"	1055	Mánf-i-Muwaswas cures a woman of a bloodsucking parasite in her womb. The Chapter ends without any eulogy.
Part I, Chapter XXI: On the Anecdotes of Onciromancers.			
"	"	1056	Introductory note on the significance and correct interpretation of dreams. The Caliph 'Umar's observation on dreams, that he was pleased, but not deceived by them.
f 231a	f 162a	1057	Alexander's dream during his Persian campaign, that Dará threw him to the earth, interpreted by Buzurjmíhr as his sway over the world.
"		1058	'Abdu'lláh b. Zubayr's dream and Ibn-i-Sírin's interpretation of it as his defeat at the hand of 'Abdu'l-Malik and the succession of the four sons of 'Abdu'l-Malik.
"	f 163a	1059	Ibn-i-Sírin's interpretation of Abú Ḥanífa's dream of collecting the bones of the Prophet as the codification of the Islamic law.
"	"	1060	Omens before the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad.
f 231b	f 163b	1061	The dream of 'Átika, the daughter of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, and its realisation in the Battle of Badr. (<i>Kutub-i-Maghási</i> indefinitely mentioned, see above, p. 101).

A.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 231b	"	1062	Abu'l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Ja'far's dream, and the assassination of Abū Muḥammad Makhlad at the hands of the Turks.
f 232a		1063	Mu'āwiya's dream about the succession of the Caliphate to the descendants of Marwān.
"		1064	Kundhur (?) the Rāy of India's curious dream, and its interpretation by Mihrān, and the prophecy about Alexander's invasion, and the 4 matchless things as redemption. (<i>Akhlār-i-Iskandar</i> as the source).
f 232b	f 163b	1065	Núshīrwān's dream of a pig drinking with him from the same water, and Buzurjmīhr's interpretation and device to punish the criminals.
"	f 164a	1066	Ya'qūb-i-Kashshāfi's interpretation of the dream of Sabuktigin as signifying the rise of his dynasty.
"		1067	The ominous dream of a notable of Baghdād, and the prophecy of an interpreter.
f 233a		1068	The ominous dream of Abu'l-Jaysh: its similarity with the dream of al-Mutawakkil and its similar interpretation.
"	f 164a	1069	The dream of the Qādhi Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq Maḥmūd Nīshapūrī about the rise of the Sultan Yamīnu'd-Dawla Bahramshāh of Ghazna (The <i>Khalqu'l-Insan</i> as the source, see above p. 60).
"	"	1070	The dream of the Khwāja Buzurg Bihruz b. Aḥmad, the Wazīr of the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm of Ghazna, and its fulfilment.
"	"	1071	The Caliph al-Ma'mūn sees Aristotle in his dream, who gives him three counsels, in consequence of which al-Ma'mūn adopts a benevolent policy.
"	"	1072	The dream of Sabuktigin at the birth of his son Maḥmūd in 361 A. H., and the coincident falling down of an idol in India. (The <i>Ta'rikhi-Nāsihi</i> as the source, see above p. 61).
f 233b	f 164b	1073	The Caliph al-Mu'tadhid sees the Caliph 'Alī in his dream, in prison, who prophesies his restoration to the Caliphate.
"		1074	How the Caliph al-Mu'tamid carries out the order of the Prophet in dream and whilst in a state of unconsciousness, releases Manṣūr-i-Jammāl and Aḥmad-i-Ḥaddād.
f 234a		1075	Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alī aṣ-Ṣābūnī is ordered by the Prophet in dream to receive the forlorn Muḥammad (b.) Azraq al-Anbārī, who was robbed on his way to Egypt.
f 234b		1076	Abū 'Amr Qānī's story of the renewed prosperity of a youth, through the information conveyed to him by the dream of another person in Egypt.
"		1077	Ḥarima (?) b. Ḥāzim, the Wazīr, disgraces Ḥāmid b. 'Umar al-Ḥarrānī, but dreams of the invocation of Ḥāmid and bestows wealth on him in order to win his favour.
f 235a		1078	The simultaneous injunctions of the Prophet to 'Alī b. 'Isā and an apothecary of the Karkh of Baghdād to offer and accept 400 <i>dīnārs</i> , in order to liquidate a debt. (<i>T. F. S.</i>).
"	f 1664	1079	How Abu'l-Qāsim Sa'dī abandoned the habit of sodomy at the warning of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet, in a dream. (<i>T. F. S.</i>).
f 235b	f 165a	1080	Ibnu'l Furāt dreams that the loaf given as alms by the mother of his opponent, Abū Ja'far Bisṭāmī, ward off his attacks on the latter.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 235b		1081	A similar story — How Sharafu'd-Dīn 'Uḥmān b. Ardashīr was protected by loaves, while he was being punished by the order of the Sultan Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn.
f 236a		1082	The Caliph al-Manṣūr wakes up after a dream at midnight and orders Rabī' the chamberlain to redress the wrongs of a prisoner at the gates of Shām or Damascus.
"		1083	Ibn-i-Abī 'Awn the chief of the police of Baghdād's curious dream, its realisation and the release of an innocent and falsely convicted person of Madā'in.
"		1084	How Mūsā b. 'Abdu'l Malik is given the glad news of his release in a dream.
"		1085	A calamitous dream of a person about 12 deaths in his house during the plague. (<i>al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda</i> as the source.)
f 236b		1086	Nizāmu'd-Dīn, the son of Burhānu'l-Islām, dreams of the exact quatrain in which the poet Fahmī had ridiculed the poet Samā'i-i-Iskāf (?). (On the authority of the author himself.)
"	f 165a	1087	The dream of 'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, and the interpretation of the Prophet concerning the successive stages of the Caliphate.
"		1088	The ominous dream of Wazzāh (?), the infatuation of Šāliha, the wife of the last Umayyad Marwān-i-Ḥimār, and their dreadful fate.
"	f 165a	1089	The calamitous dream of al-Mutawwakil, in which he saw the Caliph 'Alī giving him seven lashes with a whip, which punishment in the end was fulfilled by his being cut into seven pieces at the hands of the Turks. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
Part I, Chapter XXII: On the Anecdotes of the Astrologers, and their predictions.			
f 237a	f 165b	1090	Introductory discourse on astrology and prediction. The Caliph 'Alī's opinion on astrology and predestination.
"		1091	The Caliph 'Alī pays no heed to ominous signs of the stars, and leads his army to battle at Nahrawān and defeats the Khawārij.
"		1092	The Shaykh Abū Ḥafṣ-i-Kabīr's attempt to dispel the false notion of a Brazier about the fulfilment of predictions.
"		1093	A preacher relates the story of Solomon who was not able to see the mysterious workings of the bee-hive, in refutation of the claim of astrologers to predict unknown things.
f 237b		1094	How Ja'far b. Yaḥyā, the Barmecide, orders the execution of the astrologer who had predicted the Caliph's death within a year, and dispels Hārūn's anxiety.
"		1095	Jámāsp the Astrologer's prediction about the issue of the war between Gushtāsp and Arjāsp.
"		1096	An astrologer predicts the death of Ja'far, the son of the Caliph al-Manṣūr.
"		1097	Fadhī b. Sahl, through his knowledge of astrology, saves the Caliph al-Ma'mūn from the raiders; which coincides with the victory of 'Abdu'llāh b. Tāhir over 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Māhān.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f238a	f165b	1098	An attempt to poison the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim is averted by the expert astrological advice of the son of the late Fadhl b. Sahl, the Wazīr.
f238b	"	1099	Parwīz's accidental escape, and the murder of the astrologer, who being aware of his fate was seeking shelter in the king's palace.
"	"	1100	Fadhl b. Sahl's fruitless attempt to avert the impending calamity, his own death, which he knew beforehand.
"	"	1101	Buḥturī the poet's auspicious verses, and Abū Ma'shar of Balkh the famous astrologer's prediction about the restoration of al-Mu'tazz to the Caliphate.
f239a		1102	Ibnu'l 'Askarī happens to see the astrological chart of his life, and the fulfilment of one of the predictions.
"		1103	Mānī-i-Muwaswas's prediction about the attack of Ya'qūb b. Laylī on the Caliph, his defeat and drowning. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Khulafa-i-Bani-'Abbās</i> as the source, see above, p. 48).
"		1104	Sa'du'z-Zamān, the astrologer, averts a calamity by removing his patron, the Amīr of Bust, from the bath.
"	f166a	1105	Several predictions about a prince come to pass at the same time and convince the unbelieving king of the efficacy of astrologers.
"	"	1106	'Abdu'l-Muḥsin, the poet, rewarded posthumously by the Caliph al-Muntaṣir, according to the prediction of his old astrologer friend. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
Part I, Chapter XXIII: On the Anecdotes of Poets and their Extempore Verses.			
f239b	f166b	1107	Introductory discourse on extempore poetry, and the poet as the perpetuator of the fame of Kings. Arabic couplets cited and the corresponding Persian couplets of Nizāmī 'Arūḍī-i-Samarqandī. Marwān b. Abī Ḥaṣṣa the panegyrist of Ma'n b. Zā'ida seeks patronage at the court of al-Mahdī and Hārūn, and wins reward from both through the merit of his poetical genius.
f240a	"	1108	Ḥasan Dhahḥak, the poet laureate to the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, wins the favour of the Caliph by extemporising verses in his honour.
"	f167a	1109	Abū Jarwal Zuhayr b. Ṣurad, the poet-representative of the tribe of Hawāzin's pathetic appeal for amnesty addressed to the Prophet. (See <i>H. S. R.</i> p. 877 for the cited verses). (<i>T. F. S.</i> Pt. I, ch. V, p. 88).
"		1110	Account of the release of Abū Bakr 'Abdu'llah, who had incurred the displeasure of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, and his association with the poet ar-Rā'iḥī who wrote an ode on Ma'n b. Zā'ida.
f240b	f167a	1111	Abu'l-'Atāhiya's arrest by the Caliph al-Mahdī for not writing poetry, and his strange meeting in prison with the son of 'Isā b. Zayd; his extempore verses in presence of the Caliph obtain deliverance for him.
f241a	f167b	1112	How Ibrāhīm Mudbir obtains his release from the prison of Najāḥ b. Maslama by sending his verses to be sung before the Caliph al-Mutawakkil.
"		1113	A poet in retaliation satirises Abu'l-Fadhl Mīkālī in a couplet, but after being rewarded supplements it in praise of Abu'l-Fadhl.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 241a		1114	A poet of the court of al-Hajjāj in disappointment addresses 'Abdu'llah b. Tāhir, who in turn replies in verse and rewards him.
"		1115	How Turayh b. Isma'il al-Thaqafi defended his verses in praise of Walid, when questioned by the Caliph al-Manṣūr.
f 241b		1116	Abū Tammām's extempore couplets in honour of Aḥmad the son of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, when accused of comparing the Caliph with smaller persons.
"		1117	Abu'sh-Shamaqmaq's lines on the breaking of the banner of Khalid b. Yazid b. Mazyad ash-Shaybānī, while he was at the gate of Mawṣil.
"	f 167b	1118	Badī'u'z-Zamān Hamadhānī's fame at the early age of ten; the Ṣāhib Ismā'il tests his talents for improvisation by giving him a verse from the <i>Diwan</i> of Manṣūr-i-Mantiqī to translate into Arabic, which he does with such skill as to meet with the approbation of the great Ṣāhib. (The <i>Yattimatu'd-Dahr</i> referred to for a detailed account of Badī'u'z-Zaman).
"		1119	The Amīr Khalaf of Sīstān threatened by the poet Ma'īūf of Balkh if the Amīr did not reward him for his ode.
"		1120	The Caliph Hārūn's explanation to the Imām Abū Yūsuf about his extreme consideration for the Christian poet Akhtal.
f 242a	f 167b	1121	The Caliph al-Mu'taṣim dismisses Abū Ḥātim-i-Khurāsānī, his treasurer, in consequence of the satire of Ibnu'r-Rūmī, which the poet had composed in order to revenge himself on Abū Ḥātim.
"		1122	Ibnu'l-Ash'ath's reply to 'Abdu'l Malik about the generosity of Qays-i-Ma'dīkarib to A'shā and the value of the immortal verses which commemorated his glory in return (Firdawsī cited).
"		1123	The Caliph al-Manṣūr asks Ru'ba, the poet, whether he would accept three hundred <i>Dinārs</i> or three counsels in compensation for his poetry.
"		1124	The Sultan Maḥmūd asks the poets of his court to translate two couplets (cf. <i>Lubāb</i> II, p. 22) of 'Abdu'llah b. Muḥammad al-Walwālajī, the poet. On the failure of all the others, Abu'l-Qāsim, the son of the Wazīr Abu'l-'Abbās Isfarā'īnī extemporises in Arabic.
"	f 168a	1125	An account of Farrukhī's poetry and his journey to Samarqand: his classic description of a traveller without money in a beautiful town, when asked about Samarqand by the Sultan Maḥmūd. The chapter ends without any eulogy.
			Part I, Chapter XXIV: On the Anecdotes of the Musicians.
f 242b	"	1126	Introductory note on music, and the controversy about hearing it. The works of the Imām Ghazālī, the <i>Iḥyā-i-'Ulūmi'd-Dīn</i> and <i>Kimīyā-i-Sa'ādat</i> are referred to for the above question. The Origin of Music: Pythagoras's dream — the scientific arrangement of notes — influence of symphony on mind — the reason for the prohibition of music in Islām.
f 243a	f 168b	1127	Abu'l-'Aynā's discourse on music and the influence of harmony, and Aristotle's opinion on the subject.
"		1128	How the Caliph Hārūn arranges a meeting of the learned men of Baghdād and asks Ibrāhīm-i-Mawṣilī to captivate them by the charm of music.

A.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 243b		1129	How Bárbad, the minstrel, gained his first audience of Parwíz by striking wonderful notes, and enchanted him by his music.
"		1130	How Ibn-i-Jámi', through his extraordinary skill in singing a particular tune, enraptured the Caliph al-Hárún and obtained an immense reward.
f 244a		1131	Another anecdote of Ismá'il b. Jámi' as-Sahmí's musical performance in the court of the Caliph.
f 244b		1132	Ibn-i-Abí'l-'Atíq's intercession before the Caliph (?) on behalf of the musician Salámatu'l-'Ayn to cancel his order for the expulsion of the musician-girls from the city of Mecca.
f 245a		1133	The love of Ibn-i-Sahl, the famous musician, for music lessons, and his father's hearty appreciation of his musical talents in the end.
"		1134	Isháq and Ibráhm-i-Mawṣilí attend Ibn-i-Sahl's music lessons, and collaborate in setting a song on Mazlúma to music at the order of the Caliph al-Hárún.
f 245b		1135	How Ḥalwiyya, a favourite musician-girl of the Caliph al-Ma'mún, sings a piece of Isháq-i-Mawṣilí and restores him to the favour of the Caliph.
"		1136	How Isháq-i-Mawṣilí entered a party in disguise after a fair musician and enchanted her by his musical skill.
f 246a		1137	Amír Rashíd, the <i>Qawwál</i> , tries to outwit Maḥmúd, the musician, at the court of the Sultan Qilij Arslán Ibráhm ibnu'l-Ḥusayn. (Anecdote related by the author himself).
"		1138	Maḥmúd the musician's ardent desire to get back to court of Samarqand, even though he was received very generously at the court of Tukush Khwárazmsháh. (Anecdote related by the author).
f 246b	f 168b	1139	Buzurjmihr tests through music the capacity of a child of two as a fit person for future sovereignty. The <i>Iḥyá</i> along with the <i>Risala</i> of Qushayrí is mentioned in connection with this problem.
"	f 169a	1140	How Ibráhm Khawwás obtains from an Arab tribe a slave who had the superb quality of enchanting camels by his <i>Hudá</i> or lays. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part I, Chapter XXV. On the Anecdotes of sagacious and acute persons.
"		1141	A short introduction on sagacity. Núshírwán's dream and Buzurjimihr's interpretation and the clever method of detecting the accomplice.
f 247a		1142	How in olden days the kings used to test each other's intelligence. Chess from India and pieces from Persia.
"		1143	How Buzurjmihr divined the contents of the casket sent by the Qayṣar of Rúm.
"		1144	The four extremely shrewd sons of Nizár b. Ma'add b. 'Adnan, their contest about inheritance, and the decision of Af'í i-Jurhumí. (Cf. <i>Tabari</i> , I : 109), the sage of Arabia.
f 247b		1145	A similar story of clever guesses (probably originated from the above).
f 248a		1146	An old blind astrologer by intuition finds out the thief who stole a precious casket given in charge to Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide.
f 248b		1147	The Caliph al-Ma'mún gives the first place to an untidy person, who gave brilliant replies in one of the weekly sittings of the learned men in his palace.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 248b	f 169a	1148	Buzurjmīhr selects three things as the choicest in the world: — woman, death and patronage — and gives a pertinent explanation in the presence of Nūshīwān.
"		1149	How a Jew was spared his beautiful garden by the Caliph Hārūn, at a clever hint of his about the ownership of the garden.
f 249a	f 169a	1150	Plato's precept for constant happiness: the inference drawn from the story of the matchless cup and its loss and the consequent disappointment of the king.
"		1151	How Abū Muslim sends Yaqtīn b. Ibrāhīm, a Shī'ite grandee, to see Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad in prison and asks him about the succession of the <i>Day'at</i> .
"		1152	The story of changing the order of the king to the retreating army by putting dots: سیاه داران را باندک سپاه را باز نکردند و حریرا باند (Anecdote repeated I. xiv. 742).
"		1153	A person disappears from jail after prophesying the succession of Sulaymān, the brother of the Caliph Walid b. Abdu'l Malik instead of his son.
"		1154	Aristotle's reflective mirror for killing the obnoxious animal that emitted fatal poison from its eyes.
f 249b	f 169b	1155	Plato's grief at the praise of a fool and his retrospect of his past actions. (Cf. <i>Qābūs-Nāma</i> , pp. 34—35, also Prof. Browne, <i>Lit. Hist. Persia</i> , II. 279.)
"		1156	A similar experience of the physician Muḥammad b. Zakā'iyyā ar-Rāzī and his resentment.
"		1157	Abrash-i-Kalbī's witty reply to the Caliph Hishām b. 'Abdu'l Malik for not having accompanied him in paying homage to the Lord at his succession.
"		1158	The Caliph al-Mutawakkil meets a very shrewd peasant while out hunting.
"		1159	How Khālid the Barmecide, seeing a deer take shelter, guesses correctly the onward march of the army of Ibn Dhubāra (? Hubayra) and informs Qaṭṭaba his chief in good time.
f 250a		1160	A monk bestows the gift of 4 bricks of gold on a sagacious person.
"		1161	ash-Sha'bī's reply to 'Abdu'l Malik, the Caliph, about the signs of nobility and baseness.
"		1162	Kisrā's desire to keep Socrates company, and the philosopher's clever method of diverting him from the idea of companionship.
f 250b	f 169b	1163	Ashja'-i-Himyarī's four virtues and one daily practice, and their explanation before Abū Muslim-i-Khurāsānī.
"		1164	How a guest cleverly divided the fowls on the table among the family of his host.
"	f 170a	1165	The riddle of the daughter of the Qaysar of Rūm — her ten questions to each suitor. A very clever person outwits and marries her.
f 252b	f 171b	1166	The enigmatic utterances of Shann (?), the Arabian sage, and their solution by a bright girl result in their marriage and highly intellectual companionship.
f 253a		1167	Abū Muslim's shrewd illustration of the animal that devoured its benefactors, which contained an implied reference to al-Manṣūr's treachery.
"		1168	How a representative of the Persians contrived to bring about the deposition of 'Amr b. Maslama b. Qutayba, a governor appointed by the Caliph al-Manṣūr.

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 253a		1169	How Zīrak made up his mind to stay out in severe cold and win the prize offered by Hurmuz, the Persian King.
f 253b		1170	How the Qādhī Yaḥyá b. Akṭham cleverly suggested to the people to praise him before the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
"		1171	Aristotle solves the mystery of the betrayal of the state secrets with which he was entrusted by Alexander.
"		1172	Sultan Maḥmúd's contention with the Amír Ḥasanak about the Karrámites, and the Amír's convincing argument on the eve of the battle with Abú 'Alí Símjúr based on the skilful performance of a person, who could produce coins by waving his hand in the air.
f 254a	f 171b	1173	How to live in safety — three observations of a Brahmin before a Ráy, illustrated by the fable of the lion, jackal, pig and monkey (<i>Kalila wa Dimna</i> as the source).
"		1174	How 'Khák-Khwár', a servant of Bahiám Gúr, enriches himself through obtaining the monopoly of the supply of eggs to the royal household.
"	*	1175	A court jester plays a trick on the Sultan Maḥmúd and his Wazír [Aḥmad b.] Ḥasan Maymandí, while they were returning from hunting.
f 254b		1176	How the Faqlh of Jurján attempts to procure the surrender of the Kotwál of Gardíz, who had revolted against Sultan Mawdúd.
"		1177	Ṣáliḥ b. 'Alí relates the conversation that took place between the King of Núba and the deposed Marwán, and why he advised the Caliph al-Manṣúr to put the latter to death.
f 255a		1178	The Caliph Mu'áwiya sends an ambassador to the court of the Qayṣar, with a sinister motive, but the Qayṣar outwits him and thereby saves the Christians of Syria from the machinations of the Caliph.
"		1179	How Aḥmad b. Isrá'íl forecasts the death of the Caliph al-Wáṭḥiq and escapes along with Aḥmad b. Mudbir and Sulayman b. Wahb from the prison.
f 255b	f 172a	1180	A theologian, an 'Alawí, a soldier and a market-man raid a garden, are cleverly separated by the gardener, and are chastised in turn (cf. <i>Mathnawí</i> , II 2167 foll.).
"		1181	The Caliph 'Uṭṭman's prediction about his own murder, couched in a proverbial expression, "Beware! I shall be murdered on the day the white bull is killed".
"	f 172b	1182	The clever suggestion of a Christian to the Caliph 'Abdu'l Malik about the tyrannical governors of his province. The chapter (and Pt. I) ends with a eulogy.

A Complete Table of Contents of the Fawāmi' u'l-Hikāyat.

Part II (comprising 25 chapters, XXVI—L):

On the Excellence of Virtues, Praiseworthy Qualities, and Estimable Traits in Human Nature.

Pt. II, Chapter I = XXVI: On the Excellence of Modesty.

A. ¹⁾	D.	G.	Seeml.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 1b		f 173b		General introduction to the Second Part, beginning with an exhortation on the virtue of Modesty, as the essence of ethics and religion in Islām, and a dedicatory eulogy on the Wazī Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'd al-Junaydī.
"		"	1183	How the prophet Yūsuf was saved by God from the temptation of Zulaykhā.
f 2a		f 174a	1184	Aristotle's explanation concerning the interval between two prophets: intellect and inherent modesty lead to virtue.
"		"	1185	Extreme regard of the Prophet Muḥammad for the Caliph 'Uthmān, for he was respected by God and the angels in heaven owing to his modesty.
"		"	1186	A child's retort to a party of elderly men, on the sense of shame.
"		"	1187	The reply of a person to a group of Ṣūfīs who were afraid of lions in the neighbourhood, while he, fearing God alone, had slept undisturbed. (R. Q. as the source).
"		f 174b	1188	Sa'd-i-Āṣ, the governor of Kūfa, rewards a young man who was ashamed to ask for his wants from any human being.
f 2b		"	1189	The Caliph al-Ma'mūn ashamed of extorting his debts from Yahyā b. Khāqān ruthlessly (T. F. S. as the source).
"		"	1190	The Imām Zaynu'l-Ābidīn ashamed at his daughter's remark.
f 3a		"	1191	How Nūshīwān was ashamed of committing a sin.
"		f 175a	1192	The Caliph al-Ma'mūn rewards a Badawī who presents him with a skin of fresh water and sends him back to the desert, that he might not be disappointed by finding that there was an ample supply of fresh water in the capital.
"	*	"	1193	Nizāmu'l-Mulk, the great Wazīr of the Saljūqs, eats three cucumbers and is ashamed to tell the person who had presented them that they were bitter. The chapter ends with a eulogy on his patron Wazīr.

¹⁾ See above p. 115 ff. 29—33. Since D. omits this chapter, while A. contains the first four chapters of Part II also, the text of this chapter is based on A., and parallel folio references to D. are given from A. as far it goes.

A.	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES
				Part II, Chapter II = XXVII: On the Excellence of Humility.
f 3b	f 97a	f 175a	1194	A short introduction to the chapter. Ridhwan's offer of an emerald casket to the Prophet, and the significant manner in which Jibra'il pointed towards the earth.
f 4a		f 175b	1195	The Amír Isma'íl b. Aḥmad the Samánid is informed by the Prophet of the succession of his seven descendants, owing to the Amír's having respected one of the holy divines of Bukhárá.
"	f 97b	"	1196	The reverence and humility of the Caliph Hárún in the presence of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaybaní.
"	"	"	1197	A few instances of the Prophet's humility and sacrifices for humanity.
"	"	"	1198	The Prophet waits on, and watches the clothes of, Ḥudhayfatu'l-Yamání while the latter was taking a bath. (The <i>Musnad-i-Akhbár-i-Nabawí</i> as the source).
"	f 98a	"	1199	The Caliph al-Ma'mún prefers to walk in the sun, and keep the Qādhí Yaḥya b. Akṭham in the shade.
f 4b	"	f 176a	1200	The interview of the Sultan Mas'úd and the saint Shaykh Ḥusayn of Zanján.
"	"	"	1201	The Imám Ḥusayn's at-home party to the children.
"	"	"	1202	The Caliph al-Mu'tasim's help to an old man, and the story of his prosperity.
"	"	"	1203	Hárúnu'r-Rashíd pours water on the hands of Abú Qalaba.
"	f 98b	"	1204	Sultán Sanjar's reverence for Khwāja Abu'l-Fadhl of Kirmán.
"	"	"	1205	The Caliph al-Manṣúr attends the funeral of Ishāq (b.) Ibráhím 'Uqaylí, his foe.
f 5a	"	"	1206	'Umar II's meekness: he would not allow any one but himself to perform menial services for his guest.
"	"	f 176b	1207	How the Prophet freed himself from the children, and Bilál's astonishment at the exceeding kindness of the Prophet.
"	f 99a	"	1208	How Salmán-i-Fársí, the Governor of Syria, submitted to act as a bearer.
"	"	"	1209	The Caliph al-Mahdí delays the prayer at the request of an Arab.
				The chapter ends with a short encomium on the Wazīr.
				Part II, Chapter III = XXVIII: On the Excellence of Forgiveness.
f 5b	f 99b	f 177a	1210	A preamble on the divine quality of Forgiveness. (Saná'í cited). Imám Abú Yúsuf's suggestion to Hárúnu'r-Rashíd — forgiveness as the best punishment for the guilty.
"	"	"	1211	An instance of the Imám Ḥasan's extraordinary self-control: he forgives and liberates a slave who accidentally scorched him.
"	f 100a	"	1212	The Caliph al-Ma'mún shows forbearance, and restores Aḥmad b. 'Urwa to office. (See <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, Ch. IV, p. 82).
f 6a	"	"	1213	Another instance of al-Ma'mún's clemency: his pardon of Fadhl b. Rabf.
"	"	"	1214	al-Ma'mún forgives the Shf'a poet Dī'bil on the recitation of his famous ode (Anecdote connected with the last one).
"	"	f 177b	1215	Muṣ'ab releases a person on his improvising a eulogy.

A.	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 6a	f 100b	f 177b	1216	al-Ma'mún's machinations against his uncle Ibráhm b. Mahdí always averted by the latter's pathetic appeals.
f 6b	f 101a	"	1217	How to suppress anger: a practical remedy suggested by a sage to a hot-tempered Muslim ruler.
f 7a	"	f 178a	1218	How Músá b. 'Uyayna saved a condemned man from the wrath of the Caliph Hárún and directed his attention to the Word of God and Tradition.
"	f 101b	"	1219	Sallám-i-Abrash the poet's plea for pardon accepted by the Caliph al-Ma'mún.
"	"	f 178b	1220	The Caliph al-Ma'mún's forgiveness of the Qádhí Yahyá b. Akḥam.
f 7b	f 102a	"	1221	The Caliph as-Saffáh readily grants an amnesty to the people of Syria.
"	f 102b	"	1222	A Persian King acts contrary to the malicious advice of a courtier, and forgives a defaulter.
f 8a	"	"	1223	al-Hajjáj's crocodile tears over the condemned criminals.
"	"	f 179a	1224	al-Hajjáj forgives the Imám Sha'bí at the intercession of Yazíd, in spite of his efforts to overthrow him and help 'Abdu'r-Rahmán b. al-Ash'ath.
"	f 103a	"	1225	Fadhī b. Rabī' as a fugitive: his experiences with the horseman, the old woman, Sháhík, and the trader who betrayed him; al-Ma'mún pardons and restores him to favour.
f 8b	f 104a	f 179b	1226	al-Ma'mún forgives his uncle Ibráhm b. Mahdí and rewards him.
f 9a	"	"	1227	Ibnu'l-Bawwáb recites a few lines written in honour of the Caliph al-Ma'mún and asks forgiveness for Husayn b. Dhahhák, which is granted. (See <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, Ch. IV, p. 71).
"	f 104b	f 180a	1228	al-Jáhiḡ forgiven and patronised by Aḥmad b. Abí Dá'úd after the fall of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Malik az-Zayyát. (See <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, pp. 79—80). The chapter ends with an apologetic note and autobiographic verses commingled with praise.
Part. II, Chapter IV = XXIX: On the Excellence of Clemency.				
f 9b	f 105a	"	1229	Introduction. The conversion of Sa'd b. Abí Waqqás.
f 10a	"	f 180b	1230	How Yúnus of Sajáwand dissuaded the Sultan Raḥí (u'd-Dín Ibráhm of Ghazna) from levying taxes on the people of Sajáwand.
"	f 105b	"	1231	How Zayd b. Sa'na or Sha'ba, the Jew, was converted through the clemency of the Prophet. (The Kitábu Sharafí 'n-Nabí as the source, see above pp. 86—8).
f 10b	f 106a	"	1232	Nu'mán b. Mundhir's admirable forbearance towards an old liar who slandered his mother.
"	"	f 181a	1233	The Caliph al-Manṣúr's heated conversation with Abú' dh-Dhi'b, the latter's retorts and pungent remarks overlooked and forgiven (Anecdote told in presence of al-Mu'tasim while he was on pilgrimage).
f 11a	f 106b	"	1234	A contrast of two characters: al-Ma'mún forgives his steward for forgetting to prepare a dish specially ordered by him, whereas Humayd of Túṣ punishes his own steward for the fault of al-Ma'mún's cook.

A.	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 11a	f 107a	f 181a	1235	An Arab reproaches Aḥmad b. Abī Khálid and teaches him a lesson.
"	"	f 181b	1236	Sulaymán-i-Warráq's story of the precious ruby broken by a jeweller and al-Ma'mún's magnanimity. (Anec. repeated).
"	"	"	1237	The story of the historic jewel, and the malicious prediction of Fadhl b. Rabīf about the death of al-Ma'mún, as related by himself.
f 11b	f 107b	"	1238	Mu'awiya suppresses his anger and liberates the slaves of Sallám (b.) Sa'īd who had committed serious offence.
"	"	"	1239	Abú Muslim prefers to endure a wound rather than injure the feelings of his friend who was unconsciously hurting him.
"	"	"	1240	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwan destroys the letters written by his generals to his enemy Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr and forgives all.
"	"	f 182a	1241	An instance of Alexander the Great's extreme forbearance.
"	f 108a	"	1242	A malevolent Khárijite is appeased by the exemplary forbearance of the Imám Ḥasan.
f 12a	"	"	1243	A person, not knowing al-Ḥajjáj, rebukes him to his face, but afterwards pretends insanity and is excused by al-Ḥajjáj.
"	"	"	1244	An instance of 'Abdu'lláh b. 'Abbás's clemency.
"	"	"	1245	Jesus Christ, the embodiment of clemency, praises the Jews who abused him.
"	"	"	1246	Salmán, the Persian, pays no heed to the abuse of a silly person. (Saná'f's lines befitting the occasion are cited).
"	f 108b	"	1247	The sage, Marzubán, excuses the murderer of his son.
"	"	"	1248	The philosopher Dímaqarúdas (Democritus) laments the fate of his son's murderer.
f 12b	"	f 182b	1249	Parwíz forgives a dismissed servant, guilty of stealing a golden plate from the royal household. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, pp. 25—26).
"	f 109a	"	1250	The Caliph al-Ma'mún gives redress to a plaintiff, in spite of the fact that he had startled his horse and thereby injured him.
"	"	"	1251	How Aḥnaf b. Qays learned clemency from Qays b. 'Āsim at-Taḡawī (al-Minqarī).
f 13a	"	"	1252	How Mu'awiya overcame his enemies by toleration and forbearance.
"	f 109b	"	1253	An instance of Qa'qá' b. Shúr's clemency for which he had become proverbial.
"	"	f 183a	1254	Aḥnaf b. Qays, another notable of Arabia, famed for his clemency.
"	"	"	1255	The definition of the word " <i>Ḥilm</i> " or clemency by al-Aṣma'ī, in presence of the Caliph Hárún.
"	"	"	1256	Mu'awiya swallows the corrosive remarks of the two negotiators of the Caliph 'Alī.
f 13b	f 110a	"	1257	The unrelenting Ḥajjáj forgives his slanderer.
"	f 110b	f 183b	1258	Magnanimity of the Caliph al-Ma'mún illustrated by his treatment of Faraj [ar-Rukhkhajī, the deposed governor of Fárs and Ahwáz].
f 14a	"	"	1259	A Christian Jāthaliq (Catholicus) calms the wrath of Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr by quoting a passage from the Bible enjoining kings to be patient and give a careful hearing to appeals for justice.
"	f 111a	"	1260	A desperate poet's attempt to excite the Caliph Abú Bakr.

A.	D.	G.	Serial	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 14a	f 111a	f 183b	1261	Another instance of the Caliph Abú Bakr's forbearance to a scandal-bearer.
"	"	f 184a	1262	How al-Ma'mún concealed the ominous prophecy of Fadhl b. Rabīf.
f 14b	"	"	1263	The four errors of the Imám Sha'bī, and the Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik's pardon.
"	f 111b	"	1264	The Caliph 'Abdul-Malik's fidelity to his early promises and the cause of his success.
f 15a	"	"	1265	al-Mu'tamid's forbearance to the musician Gharīb who ridiculed him for sending an unrhythmical piece to set to music.
"	f 112a	f 184b	1266	Tughril(?) advised by his father, a ruler of Fárs, to abstain from bloodshed.
"	"	"	1267	The Caliph Mu'áwiya refuses to deliver a refugee at the request of Ziyád.
"	"	"	1268	Qualification required by Alísa' (Elisha) the prophet, of his successor; the choice of Dhu'l-Kifl; the failure of Iblís to excite him.
f 15b	f 113a	f 185a	1269	The Caliph al-Manşúr thrusts office upon the Qádhí Sharík; the Qádhí's exemplary forbearance to a malicious critic, after al-Mahdí had deposed him from his office.
f 16a	"	"	1270	How 'Abdu'lláh b. Ja'far-i-Tayyár related an amusing story and succeeded in subduing the anger of Mu'áwiya.
"	"	"	1271	The frequent unwelcome visits of Dhamíra b. Shaybán al-Kilábí, and the Caliph al-Manşúr's patience and repeated rewards.
f 16b	f 114a	f 185b	1272	The Caliph al-Manşúr demands an explanation from the poet Abú Ziyád Faqíhí about his verses, and excuses him on account of his witty reply.
"	"	"	1273	The Caliph al-Mahdí, ridiculed by a person for praising his own virtues forgives him when the man persists in his impudence.
f 17a	f 114b	f 186a	1274	The Caliph al-Mahdí delays in conducting the prayer (Anec. repeated).
"	"	"	1275	The Caliph Hárún's pardon to a person who spreads a malicious rumour about his death on the frontier.
"	"	"	1276	A frank comparison of the Umayyads and the 'Abbásids by an experienced client of the Umayyads in the presence of the Caliph Hárún; his acquiescence and acknowledgment of the inconsistency of the 'Abbásids in their treatment of their officials.
f 17b	f 115a	"	1277	False accusation of a fugitive slave against his Kúfí master, the Caliph al-Manşúr's investigation of the case and his pleasure at the admirable forbearance of the master towards his slave. (Anec. repeated).
f 18a	f 115b	f 186b	1278	A slave of the Caliph 'Alí excuses himself by pleading his confidence in the Caliph's humanity and craves indulgence.
"	"	"	1279	The angels disappear when the Caliph 'Umar opens his mouth to defend himself against the aggression of his opponent.
				The chapter ends without the usual form of praise.
				Part. II, Chapter V = XXX: On the Excellence of Magnanimity.
"	f 116a	"	1280	Introduction. The Caliph Hárún evinces signs of greatness at the early age of five, and holds a model-court of the Caliph over which he presides.

A.	D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 186	f 116b	f 187a	1281	Ya'qúb b. Layth's high ambitions: his desire to become famous or die in the attempt. (Data for his early occupation).
"	"	"	1282	Alexander's ambition for world-conquest, and Aristotle's advice.
"	"	"	1283	Ya'qúb b. Layth weds his luck to sword and conquest. (Anec. repeated).
Breaks off.	"	"	1284	Báyazíd of Bisám reverently refrains from asking God to pardon the sins of the past and the coming generations; and Abú Naṣr Tustarí's (?) observation on the saint's loftiness.
	"	f 187b	1285	A comparison of the aspirations of a slave with those of his own son by Málik b. Misma'.
	f 117a	"	1286	The Sultan Maḥmúd's lofty aims on the eve of the invasion of Rayy, and his summary rejection of the pacific policy of his Wazir, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu's-Ṣamad.
	"	"	1287	A singular instance of the marvellous change in the Caliph 'Umar II's mode of life after he took office: once velvet was too coarse for his wear, but later sack-cloth appeared to him too soft.
	"	"	1288	The Caliph al-Ma'mún's royal send-off and banquet in honour of Ṭáhir, the Ambidexter, and his army on the occasion of his campaign against 'Alí b. 'Ísá b. Máhán. (Anec. repeated).
	f 117b	"	1289	Sabuktigin's lofty advice to Maḥmúd, to build the imperishable garden of magnanimity. Niẓámí 'Arúdhí-i-Samarqandí's famous lines cited. (Anec. repeated).
	"	f 188a	1290	A royal hawk stoops down and pays the penalty which he deserved.
	"	"	1291	The story of Nu'mán b. 'Abdu'llah concerning the magnanimity of Fadhl b. Yaḥyá the Barmecide; Ṣálih b. Jaríma (Khuzayma) al-Anṣarí, sceptical about the truth of the story, is wonder-struck at the way in which Fadhl squandered his wealth before him. (The <i>Akhbár-i-Barámuka</i> as the source).
	f 118a	"	1292	The Caliph al-Maḥdí's aspirations about his succession to the Caliphate, when conveyed to the Caliph al-Manṣúr, are highly appreciated.
	"	"	1293	The sublime ideal of the Caliph Harún in appointing Ṭúlún, the humblest of his subjects, to the governorship of Egypt, once the country of the haughty Pharaohs.
	f 118b	f 188b	1294	The king of Byzantium tests the generosity of Ḥátim of Tayy and finds it incomparable: his request for 100 camels with red hair and black eyes is readily granted.
	"	"	1295	'Umára b. Ḥamza famous for his high-mindedness: two instances of the same: a) In the presence of the Caliph al-Manṣúr he renounces his claim to a piece of contested property. b) His absolute refusal of a gift of 3,000 dinárs.
	f 119a	"	1296	The high aims and the adventurous spirit of Abú Muslim in his early days. The chapter ends with an encomium on the Wazir.

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			Part II, Chapter VI = XXXI: On the Excellence of Culture and Discipline.
f 119a	f 189a	1297	Introductory discourse on the nature of training and the acquisition of excellent manners and discipline. The fable of the Lion's share, and the inference drawn from it.
f 119b	"	1298	Ibn-i-Máhán punishes his falconer for impertinence towards the royal hawk.
"	"	1299	Abú 'Abdi'llah Khaṭīb, tutor to the prince Abu'l-'Abbás the brother or Fakhru'd-Dawla Daylamī, punishes his ward for spitting on a royal hawk.
		1300	The ideal training of a prince at the hands of an excellent preceptor. (Cf. <i>M. T. N.</i> pp. 282—5, see also above, p. 26, ll. 14—21.)
f 119b	f 189a	1301	How an 'Alawī or Umawī delivered himself up voluntarily at the order of the Caliph Hárún, and Manára b. 'Adyán's (?) 'Ulayyán's) astonishment at his absolute submission. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i>)
f 121a	f 190a	1302	Muḥammad b. Sa'íd Anbārī's account of the imprisonment of Sulaymán b. Wahb, and the latter's story of Aḥmad-i-Ḥaṣbī's (?) unfortunate utterance of the word " <i>Tamwih</i> " before the Caliph, and precaution about the choice of words. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i>)
f 121b	f 190b	1303	al-Aṣma'ī relates a personal anecdote, and the story of the wrath of the Caliph Hárún against Marwán b. [Abī] Ḥaṣṣa for his exclusive statement concerning the generosity of Ma'n b. Zā'ida. (<i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, ch. VII, pp. 19—21).
f 122a	"	1304	al-Aṣma'ī's enthusiasm for learning in his early days of humble study, and his unexpected rise and appointment as tutor to the prince al-Amín on the recommendation of Muḥammad the Amír of Baṣra. (<i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, ch. VII, pp. 19—21).
f 122b	f 191a	1305	An instance of the extraordinary self-control of Abú 'Alī Quhistání in the presence of Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Sámánid: scorpion stings endured.
"	"	1306	Ibráhīm b. Adham al-Balkhī liberates a slave, admiring his absolute resignation of rights for the sake of his master.
"	"	1307	An instance of Abú Sufyán's (?) worship of Núshírwán, his over-lord.
"	"	1308	The princes al-Amín and al-Ma'mún placed the shoes of their tutor al-Kisá'ī in front of his feet as a mark of extreme reverence.
"	"	1309	Malik Muḥammad (?), the ruler of Kirmán who was a strict disciplinarian, teaches the governor of Khurásán manners.
f 123a	"	1310	The punishment of Símá', the Turkish slave, by al-Mu'taṣim as a disciplinary measure.
"	f 191b	1311	Ibráhīm b. Adham's warning to a wealthy person, who was impertinently performing the rite of <i>Ṭawáf</i> or circumambulation on horseback.
"	"	1312	The rejoinder of some lads at play to a party of elderly men, that if only the latter had had the sense to observe their obligations to God, the former would never have ventured to be rude to them. (Anec. repeated, see above, 1186).
"	"	1313	Service of a special dish at table in the household of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Núḥ the Sámánid, and Abú Sa'íd (?) Khwárazmsháh's scruples about using the golden spoon.
f 123b	"	1314	Euphemistic interpretation of the Caliph Hárún's dream.

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f 123b	f 191b	1315	Contemptuous and ironical appeal of a jester in a court held by a governor of 'Irâq, appointed by al-Ḥajjāj.
"	"	1316	Rabf, the chamberlain, punishes Ya'qúb b. Dá'úd, the nephew of al-Manṣúr, for refusing the honour of dining with the Caliph.
"	f 192a	1317	Jealousy of Zubayda — and why Harún liked al-Ma'mún more than al-Amín. The chapter ends with an indefinite account of works written on the subject, and concludes as usual with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter VII = XXXII: On the Excellence of Mercifulness.
f 124a	"	1318	Introduction illustrating the glory of the compassionateness of Moses. The pleasure of the Caliph 'Uthmán at the dispersion of the revellers whom he had to punish in the interest of law and order. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Náṣiri</i> as the source, see above, p. 61, ll. 38—41).
f 124b	"	1319	Sabuktigín's compassion for a deer results in his installation. (The <i>Tarikh-i-Náṣiri</i> as the source, see above p. 62, ll. 1—5).
"	f 192b	1320	A cruel governor attains his salvation through an act of kindness to a scabby dog, that looked miserable.
"	"	1321	Another story of the redemption of a dissolute woman because she took pity on a dog. (The <i>Ṣaḥih</i> of al-Bukhārī as the source).
f 125a	"	1322	The saint Ḥasan of Baṣra's advice to a brigand, and how the latter acted upon it, and was amply rewarded by a trader, whom he pitied and rescued from the clutches of his own gang.
f 125b	f 193a	1323	Persistent revelry and drunkenness of an old sinner, and his trial in the court of the Caliph 'Umar II: he finds fault with the sentence of the Caliph and is released. There is no eulogy at the end of this chapter.
			Part II, Chapter VIII = XXXIII: On the Excellence of trust and confidence in God.
f 126b	f 193b	1324	Introduction. Two pilgrims on their way to Mecca, the question of provision or no provision, and the test of true confidence.
"	f 194a	1325	Sabuktigín attempts to act up to the Prophet's own precept, and inculcates upon Maḥmúd the value of trust in God, and how Maḥmúd achieves victory over the Khán of Turkistán.
f 127a	"	1326	An instance of a Ṣúfi's perfect confidence in the power of God.
"	"	1327	The Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna does not believe in astrologers, but puts confidence in God, and is ever victorious.
f 127b	"	1328	An ascetic's reproach at the anxiety of his friend about the former's maintenance.
"	f 194b	1329	An Israelite's perfect confidence in God and his reward.
"	"	1330	The blessings of a verse from the <i>Qur'án</i> ; the story of a wonderful rescue from a storm and a giant ending in a happy marriage. The chapter ends without any praise of the Wazír.

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			Part II, Chapter IX = XXXIV: On the Excellence of Generosity and Liberality.
f 128b	f 195a	1331	Introduction. Occasion of the Qur'ānic verses on sacrifice for others even in times of dire personal necessity. How the one gift was circulated among 72 brethren and was returned at last to the first donor.
f 129a	"	1332	Ḥusayn of Antioch's story of the sharing of one loaf in darkness.
"	"	1333	Mutual sacrifices of the cousin of Ḥudhayfa b. 'Adī, Hishām, and another martyr witnessed in the Battle of Tabūk.
"	"	1334	Shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan Nūrī, when accused of heresy along with a party of Ṣūfīs who were sentenced to death, offers his head first.
"	f 195b	1335	Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Khargūshī's story of an Egyptian, and his loan of half a coin.
f 129b	"	1336	The Imām Shāfi'ī spends all his wealth in half a day during his stay in Mecca.
"	"	1337	The true meaning of generosity and the definition of a generous person.
"	"	1338	Ibn-i-Ḥātim or Bishr-i-Ḥātim's self-denial and generosity.
"	"	1339	How 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Awzā'ī obtained 100 times more than what he charitably offered to his distressed neighbour.
"	"	1340	'Abdu'llāh b. Ja'far aṭ-Ṭayyār liberates a slave after witnessing his humanity and self-sacrifice in saving the life of a dog.
f 130a	f 196a	1341	Qāsim-i-Ghassān (?) - i-Muḥammad Ṭā'ī relates the story of how Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide lavished wealth and "offered it to the winds". (The <i>Akhbar-i-Bardmika</i> as the source, see above, pp. 38—9).
"	"	1342	The secret of Abū 'Alī b. Ḥasan Sīmjurī's thirty years' successful governorship of Khurāsān.
"	"	1343	Faḍl b. Marwan's account of al-Ma'mūn's anxiety to provide for the annual 'Īd expenses, and Faḍl's offer of al-Mu'tasim's money from the reserved fund.
f 130b	"	1344	Khwāja Aḥmad ibnu'l-Ḥasan al-Maymandī the Wazīr's valuable suggestion to the Sultan Maḥmūd as to how to win the favour of the people.
"	"	1345	The self-sacrifice of a dervish in the days of the Caliph 'Umar II, his offer of the last dirham for the sake of God, and his barter of the sackcloth for the fish that contained a precious pearl.
			Part II, Chapter X = XXXV: On the Excellence of Benevolence
"	"	1346	Introduction. The lampoon of al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Yazīd 'Amawī (?), the poet, on 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhir, the Ambidexter, and the generosity shown to him by 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhir. The poet, interviewed by 'Abdu'llah on his march to Egypt incognito, admits his fault and realises its gravity.
f 131b	f 197a	1347	Ishāq-i-Mawṣilī, the musician, recounts an instance of Ja'far b. Yaḥyá's generosity: 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Šālīḥ Hāshimī's intrusion on the privacy of Ja'far the Barmecide, and the abstinent Hāshimī's efforts to remove the awkwardness of the situation, by falling in with the luxurious pursuits

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			of the company, and Ja'far's condescension in granting all his requests. (Couplets at the end to be noted). (Cf. <i>Aghani</i> V, pp. 118—9.)
f 132a	f 197a	1348	How Fayḍ b. Šāliḥ Abu'l-Asad relieved Dā'ūd-i-Baghdādī, the client of the mother of Ja'far, from her debt-prison.
f 132b	f 197b	1349	The dismissal of Sulaymān b. Wahb by the order of al-Mutawakkil, and his benevolent treatment by Aḥmad [b.] Abi Khālid, his successor, whom he had once treated unjustly.
f 133b	f 198a	1350	How Mujfra(?) Abū 'Abbād(?), the Kātib, treats Jahẓatu'l-Barmakī, the poet, his old friend, in his distressed condition, and how he dismantles his own palace, and bestows all the furniture on him.
"	"	1351	How al-Mutawakkil warns his chief steward in a very mild manner about observing cleanliness while serving meals.
"	f 198b	1352	A Persian king releases a culprit (story repeated).
f 134a	"	1353	The graciousness of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa towards his neighbour. (The <i>Kitāb-i-'Uyūni'l-Akhyār</i> of an-Nasafī(?) as the source, see above, p. 65, ll. 28—37). The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr.
			Part II, Chapter XI = XXXVI: On the Excellence of Hospitality.
"	"	1354	Introduction describing the proverbial hospitality of the Arabs. Why 'Uqba b. Abī Mu'ayt accepted Islām: his apostasy and doom.
f 134b	f 199a	1355	Yazīd b. Muhallab sets Wakf, the defaulter, free simply because Wakf was offered meals at his table.
"	"	1356	al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'tasim test the hospitality of 'Alī b. Hishām and find him an ideal host.
f 135a	"	1357	The Caliph al-Mahdī as an unknown guest in the tent of an Arab, and the amusing remarks of the latter at the stranger's appetite and supposititious names.
"	"	1358	An Arab host who serves a robber guest daily with the flesh of a freshly slaughtered camel prefers to forgive the robber and bestow the camels upon him, in spite of his hospitality being abused by him.
f 135b	f 199b	1359	The clever artifice of a child, who asked for a drink of water, causes Ma'n b. Zā'ida to spare the lives of some captives.
"	"	1360	The Caliph 'Alī saddened because no guest appears during a whole week.
"	"	1361	Ibrāhīm the prophet would not invite an unbeliever to his house; Jibrā'il warns him, and in consequence of his invitation the old man accepts the faith of the prophet.
"	"	1362	The remark of Ṭalḥa b. 'Abdu'llah, better known as Ṭalḥatu't-Ṭalāḥāt, on Mālik b. 'Awf, the chief of the tribe of Qays, that hospitality in its true sense takes into account no distinction whatsoever.
f 136a	"	1363	al-Ḥajjāj was hospitable enough to provide for all his people from his own kitchen, even for the invalids of his army.
"	"	1364	Malikshāh the Saljūq's amusing reception by a villager, who treated him indifferently at first, and to his surprise found that the stranger was the great king himself.

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f 136a	f 200a	1365	How the Prophet carried away the sins of the miserly wife of a follower of his, and taught her the lesson of hospitality.
f 136b	"	1366	The extreme sense of hospitality which the wife of the Shaykh Aḥmad Khidhrawayh possessed; her desire to provide even for the dogs of the neighbourhood.
"	"	1367	Explanation given by a servant to his generous master for the delay in serving meals: his conscience would not allow him to deprive the ants which were feeding on the dishes.
"	"	1368	An object lesson from two kinds of entertainments: the essence of true hospitality is its informality.
"	f 200b	1369	The immortal saint Khidhr's remark on the vanity of an old man who claimed to have drained the dregs of the cups of 7,000 holy men: the offer of one cup to a needy person would have gained for him all the blessings he desired during the whole of his life.
f 137a	"	1370	A remarkable manifestation of the Caliph 'Uḥmān's generosity on the day of the feast to the Prophet: liberation of a slave at each step the Prophet took towards his house.
"	"	1371	The old woman who sacrificed her only ewe for the party of the Caliph 'Alī, who were strangers to her, and the consequent rewards lavished on her by the sons of 'Alī.
"	"	1372	The posthumous generosity of a famous Arab, who appears in dream to a member of a party halting at his grave, and begs them to slaughter his camel; and how his son receives another camel in compensation.
f 137b	"	1373	The famous Ḥatīm of Ṭayy finds himself surpassed in generosity by an old woman.
"	f 201a	1374	al-Aṣma'ī relates a personal anecdote about his reception in an Arab family.
f 138a	"	1375	Anecdote of the same: the Arabs dislike the idea of loading the camel of the guest who is parting from them.
"	"	1376	The philosophical interpretation of the utterances of the guest of the Caliph 'Umar.
"	"	1377	How an old man sacrifices his last goat for 'Abdu'llah b. 'Abbās.
f 138b	f 201b	1378	The reproach of a host to a learned guest for abusing hospitality.
"	"	1379	'Adhdu'd-Dawla withdraws his forces sent against the hospitable ruler of Kirmān.
"	"	1380	'Amr al-Tha'libī, the poet, runs away from Damascus on account of his satire on the Caliph Walīd b. 'Abdu'l Malik, and, seizing an opportunity, attends the meals of the Caliph, and pleads the protection due to a guest. The chapter ends with a panegyric.
			Part II, Chapter XII = XXXVII: On the Excellence of Courage.
f 139a	"	1381	A preamble on the real meaning of courage, as opposed to rashness; 'Alī, the Lion of God, famed for his valour.
f 139b	f 202a	1382	How 'Amr b. Ma'dīkarib overcomes a party of the Arabs, and kills them and releases the victims. (T. F. S. as the source).
"	"	1383	The duel between 'Alī and 'Amr b. 'Abd Wadd on the eve of the Battle of the Ditch.

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f 140b	f 202b	1384	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭahīr's observation on the forces of al-Amīn.
"	"	1385	How 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭahīr got the title of Dhu'l-Yamīnayn or Ambidexter.
"	"	1386	al-Muṭṭasīm's order to Afshīn to suppress Bābak and his Khurramites.
"	"	1387	The revolt of Naṣr b. Musayyab and al-Ma'mūn's efforts to put it down; the high-mindedness of the Ambidexter shown on that occasion.
f 141a	f 203a	1388	The strength of al-Muṭṭasīm displayed in killing a tiger single-handed.
"	"	1389	Another feat of the same: he drags a mule out of a pit.
"	"	1390	Archers, the pick of the army, as described in presence of Nūshīrwan.
"	"	1391	Bahrām Gūr's excellence in the art of archery. (The <i>Tārīkh-i-Mulūk-i-'Ajam</i> as the source, see above p. 56).
"	"	1392	A notable of the Banī Shaybān in the tent of Muḥalhil, his skill in shooting arrows, his theft and Zayd-i-Injīl's offer of the spoil taken from the tribe of Banī Tamīm.
141b	f 203b	1393	The advice of a warrior to his son. The chapter ends with a splendid encomium on the Wazīr. Part II, Chapter XIII = XXXVIII: On the Excellence of Patience and Endurance.
f 142a	"	1394	Introduction. A consolatory epistle inculcating the value of endurance and patience in distress.
"	"	1395	The ordeal of the Prophet Dāniyāl, Bukht-i-Naṣr's cruel dungeon, and how Irmiyya was sent to his release providentially.
f 142b	f 204a	1396	The imprisonment of Sulaymān b. Wahb, and his brother Ḥasan's consolatory lines, and the good omen taken from those lines, which effect his release and prove the value of patience in despair.
f 143a	"	1397	The deliverance of Mūsā b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān from imprisonment.
"	"	1398	The impudent and blasphemous conduct of a criminal aggravates his misery, till at last he invokes God and is released.
f 143b	f 204b	1399	The mutilation and brutal assassination of Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'llah b. al-Ḥusayn by the order of al-Mahdī.
"	"	1400	The calamities which befell Abū Šābir, his patience, his installation as the ruler of his native place and his vengeance. (Cf. <i>Bakhtiyār-nāma</i> , Paris litho, pp. 45, 47—55, see also above, pp. 74—6).
f 144b	f 205a	1401	Nūshīrwān the Just imprisons Buzurjmihr, his endurance and release.
"	"	1402	The advice of one of the Israelite Prophets.
"	"	1403	The advice of the Prophet to an Arab who was in distress. The chapter ends without any panegyric. Part II, Chapter XIV = XXXIX: On the Excellence of Gratitude.
f 145a	f 205b	1404	Introductory discourse, illustrated by verses on gratitude. The story of the man and wife who thanked God and made a proper use of His rewards.
f 145b	"	1405	al-Ma'mūn's remark on the thanksgiving of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭā'ī.
"	"	1406	'Abdu'llah b. al-Arzāq (?)'s observation on his own wealth.
"	f 206a	1407	The poet [Abū Maṣṣūr Tha'ālibī] tests the generosity of Khalaf b. Aḥmad Sijzi, who rewards him with 100 dinārs for each of his verses.

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f 146a	f 206a	1408	A person liberates his slave, moved by his sense of gratitude.
"	"	1409	Ka'bu'l-Aḥbar's astonishment at the gratitude of a deformed man.
"	"	1410	'Abdu'l-Raḥmān b. 'Awf's (the author's ancestor from whom he derives his <i>nisba</i> of al-Awfi) complaint of the abundance of his wealth, and the Prophet's remark. (Autobiographic).
"	"	1411	The famous story of Mundhir b. Mughīra of Damascus about the generosity of the Barmecides, and his apology in the court of al-Ma'mūn for his lamentation for his past patrons. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, pp. 21—23). The chapter ends with the usual eulogy in honour of the Wazīr.
Part II, Chapter XV = XL: On the value of Prudence and Vigilance.			
f 147b	f 207a	1412	Introductory note on the above virtues: (Afrāsiyāb cited). The treacherous assassination of Abū Ja'far of Simnān by 'Abdu'l-Malik Zangī, the general of Asfār b. Shīrawayh, the Daylamite.
f 148a	"	1413	The prudent policy adopted by Khālid b. Walīd in his campaigns.
"	"	1414	Mu'āwiya returns the precious presents sent by Ziyād, through his emissary 'Abdu'llah, the brother of Mālik-i-Ashtar.
"	f 207b	1415	The Imām Ibrāhīm's precaution in ordering Abū Muslim to kill all the possible claimants to the Caliphate in Khurāsān.
"	"	1416	Abū Muslim's command to his soldiers to leave no rift in their armour.
"	"	1417	Why al-Ma'mūn appointed 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhīr as the governor of Egypt.
f 148b	"	1418	While Alptigīn indulges in convivial excess, Sabuktigīn detects a conspiracy of raiders, planned by the rebel governor Abū 'Alī Kūbak of Ghazna.
"	"	1419	A prudent Wazīr of a Persian King warns him against a Turkish slave, and reminds him of the traditional enmity between Írán and Túrān.
f 149a	f 208a	1420	Hárūnu'r-Rashīd delays the extermination of the Barmecides for ten years, and explains to al-Masrūr his reasons for this policy.
f 149b	"	1421	Sultan Maḥmūd's precaution against the rising power of Altūn Tásh whom he had nominated as the governor of Khwārazm; and the threatening letter sent to him by Abū Naṣr-i-Mushkání.
"	f 208b	1422	al-Manṣūr's deliberation with Yazīd b. Muslim about Abū Muslim, and his secret plans for effecting his assassination.
f 150a	"	1423	The cause of the deposition of Shamsu'l-Ma'ālī Qábūs b. Washmgīr. (Cf. <i>Qābūs-Nāma</i> (Ṭīhrān Litho) pp. 87—88, see above, pp. 95—6).
"	"	1424	An object lesson drawn from the fable of the Serpent, the Camel-rider, and the Fox.
f 150b	f 209a	1425	The rashness of Kay-Khusraw in ordering the execution of his wife, the precaution of the Wazīr for her safety, and the birth of the royal child, upon which the King rewards him munificently.
f 151a	f 209b	1426	The prudent measure of the Amīr Ismā'īl, the Sámānīd, in stopping a public benefactor from hospitality to all and sundry.
f 151b	"	1427	Alp Arslān the Saljūq ruler's apprehension of the growing power of the Bāṭiniyya sect, and his grave warning to Árdim about Dih Khudáy. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 139—141, see above p. 83).

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f 152a	f 209b	1428	The dissipation of the last of the Tāhirid rulers of Khurásán, Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. 'Abdu'llah; the unsuccessful attempts of Ibrāhīm-i-'Azīz, the governor of Herát, to avert disaster; his alliance with Ya'qúb b. Layth, the Šaffárid, and the overthrow of the Tāhirids. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Tahuriyán</i> as the source, see above, p. 46). The chapter ends with a short praise of the Wazīr. Part II, Chapter XVI = XLI: On the Excellence of Asceticism and Piety.
f 152b	f 210a	1429	A short introduction illustrated by a quatrain of Sa'd-i-Kāfi. The abstemious character of the early governors nominated by the Caliph 'Umar, after the subjugation of the Persian empire.
f 153a	f 210b	1430	The last advice of 'Umar II to Maslama b. 'Abdu'l-Malik.
"	"	1431	Salmán, the Persian: his mode of life as the governor of Syria, and what he left behind him.
f 153b	"	1432	The appointment of Ḥudhayfatu' bnu'l-Yamaní to the governorship of Yaman by 'Umar; his pious rule, and his reception by the Caliph 'Umar on his retirement.
"	"	1433	The Caliph 'Umar's inspection of the province of Syria, and his astonishment at the self-denial of Abú 'Ubayda b. al-Jarráḥ, the governor.
"	f 211a	1434	The Amír Ismā'íl, the Samánid, quells the rebel Ya'qúb b. Layth by order of the Caliph al-Mu'tadhid, and rejects the bribe offered to him by Ya'qúb b. Layth, from fear of the day of Judgment. (This story occurs in the <i>Siyásat-Nāma</i> in a slightly different version on pp. 16—17, and in this book also, pt. I, ch. VI, 383, see above p. 79).
f 154a	"	1435	The reason of 'Abdu'llah b. Tāhir the Ambidexter's selling his favourite slave Sa'd.
f 154b	f 211b	1436	Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'llah b. Tāhir, the ruler of Khurásán punishes Ayyúb Shádán, his court-physician, for his impudence, and 'Alí b. Ḥasan Sha'ri(?) the courtier's intercession.
f 155a	"	1437	The fate of Kámil, the notorious slave, and 'Ayyásh the courtier's piety and action against the evil, at the command of Ghálib b. 'Abdu'llah, the Amír of Khurásán. (The last three anecdotes are probably taken from as-Sallám's <i>Ta'rikh-i-Wulat-i-Khurasan</i> , see above p. 46, Par. 1).
f 155b	f 212a	1438	The Caliph al-Manšúr's intention to inspect the title-deeds of private property in Bašra, and The Qádhí Ibnu's-Sawwár's grave warning as to the effect of the sighs of the oppressed.
f 156a	"	1439	al-Manšúr's opinion about public and private rights.
"	"	1440	The silent complaint of the widow whose children were starving and the Caliph 'Umar's swift retribution and humble supplication. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> pp. 128—9, see above, p. 82).
"	f 212b	1441	The Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna's earnest wish to pay a special visit to Khurásán in order to interview the saint Abu'l-Ḥasan of Kharagán; and the blessing of the saint on the Sultán.
f 156b	"	1442	The scruples of an ascetic who was making atonement for having picked up an apple without the permission of its three owners. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr.

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			Part II, Chapter XVII = XLII: On the Excellence of Effort and Endeavour.
f157a	f213a	1443	Introduction. The causes of the downfall of the Ṭāhirids.
"	"	1444	The advice of one of the rulers of the Hayāṭila to his son, about the value of enterprise.
f157b	"	1445	The great Wazīr Nizāmu'l-Mulk's advice to his son about effort. (The <i>Waṣayyat-Nāma</i> of Nizāmu'l-Mulk as the source).
"	"	1446	al-Manṣūr's energy in suppressing the revolt of Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'llah 'Alawī in Khurāsān.
"	f213b	1447	The Amīr Ismā'īl the Sāmānid's prompt actions against Muḥammad b. Hārūn-i-Sarakhsī the rebellious governor of Gurgān, and his capture.
f158a	"	1448	The halt of Ya'qūb b. Layṭh after his victory of Kamnābād (?) for the purpose of punishing a chief of his own army.
"	"	1449	The activity of Qays b. Ṣadaqa in appealing to Sanjar the Saljūq for help, and his zealous effort to recover possession of his dependency.
f158b	"	1450	The immediate action of the Amīr [Naṣr II] b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl, the Sāmānid ruler of Khurāsān, against the rebellious governor of Sinjāb, and the Wazīr Abu'l-Fadhl al-Bal'amī's acknowledgment of his negligence and irresoluteness. (The <i>Waṣayyāt of Ardashīr</i> is referred to by the Amīr in his consultation with the Wazīr, see above, p. 56).
"	f214a	1451	The cause of al-Mu'taṣim's war against the Byzantines, the march on Amorium or 'Ammūriyya, the birthplace of Theophilus, and the occasion of the famous panegyric of Abū Tammām, the compiler of the <i>Ḥamāsa</i> . (Cf. <i>al-Fakhri</i> ed. Derenbourg pp. 316—8).
f159a	"	1452	Ya'qūb b. Layṭh, the Ṣaffārid, tries his will-power, by basking in the hot weather before starting on his campaign against Herāt. (See above, I. xiii. 717).
f160b	f214b	1453	Jibrā'il's message and the persistence of the Prophet and his followers during the siege of the Banī Qurayṣa; Ka'b b. Asad's three proposals to the people of his tribe, their refusal and their extermination. (Cf. <i>H. S. R.</i> pp. 684—9). The chapter ends with an encomium on the Wazīr, illustrating his administrative talents and energetic rule in India.
			Part II, Chapter XVIII = XLIII: On the Propriety of Silence and Speech.
f161a	f215a	1454	Introduction. The excellence of man over the animal kingdom owing to his power of speech, illustrated from the Verses of the <i>Qur'ān</i> and the lines of al-Mutanabbī; and the superiority of silence to speech at times. A story taken from the old Hindū books about the weaver of brocades who exceedingly feared his own tongue, and the amazing experience of the robber who saved him from the punishment of death at the hands of the ruler, for whom the fine cloth of gold was being made.
f161b	f215b	1455	Buzurjmīhr's alternative choice of the best things which Providence can bestow on mankind: natural wisdom, or good breeding or good nature, failing these silence, otherwise death. (Anec. repeated.)

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f 161b	f 215b	1456	A young man's clever appeal to Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Malik to redress the wrongs done to him by one of his governors.
f 162a	"	1457	'Iyās b. Mu'āwiya's retort to a Qādhī on his rash judgment and his subsequent emolument at the court of 'Abdu'l-Malik.
"	"	1458	An anecdote illustrating how eloquence fails a needy person: Fadhl b. Rabī' in the days of his decline goes to Abū 'Abbād, the favourite of al-Ma'mūn, to ask his help and finds himself inarticulate.
"	"	1459	One of the captured horsemen of 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. Ash'ath laughs scornfully before the gibbet at the folly of his intercessor Zayd b. Aslam, the secretary of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, and at the obdurateness of his master.
"	f 216a	1460	A condemned partisan of al-Mukhtār asks Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr to look at his beautiful face in the mirror, and begs him not to pollute it with the sin of assassination, and saves his life.
f 162b	"	1461	A profligate youth of Baghdād in despondency thinks of suicide, a ferryman dissuades him and wishes him good luck; the youth, by chance, enters the palace of Hārūnu'r-Rashīd uninvited, and when caught, tickles the fancy of the great Caliph, and obtains immense rewards.
f 163a	"	1462	The experience of Ibrāhīm b. Adham, the Ṣūfī saint of Balkh, with the Syriam hermits, hence his taciturnity and his firm conviction, that „Gnosis is nearer to Silence than to Speech”.
"	"	1463	A prince is brought to grief through neglecting the lesson of silence taught to him by his tutor.
"	f 216b	1464	Fadhl b. Sahl invites his doom by spreading incautious and unwise statements about his efforts for the installation of al-Ma'mūn, and by persuading al-Ma'mūn to acknowledge the apostolical succession of 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Ridhā. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā-i-Banī'l-'Abbas</i> as the source, see above, p. 47—8).
f 163b	"	1465	Aḥmad b. Yūsuf relates the story of al-Ma'mūn's machinations against Ibrāhīm (b. Mahdī, his uncle), on account of a heedless expression, and how Ibrāhīm saved himself by giving a satisfactory explanation. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> , pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 46—7). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazīr, the patron of the author.
			Part II, Chapter XIX = XLIV: On the Excellence of Fidelity to Promises and good Faith.
f 164b	f 217a	1466	Introductory remarks about good faith, illustrated with quotations and lines from various poets. Ghādira, the favourite slave-girl of al-Amīn, breaks her promise after the death of al-Amīn and gives herself up to the wishes of al-Ma'mūn; the apparition of al-Amīn in the bridal chamber, and his warning and the death of Ghādira.
f 165a	f 217b	1467	The infatuated Amīr of Balkh, and his affair with the wife of the self-sacrificing merchant of Baghdād.
f 166a	f 218a	1468	A dealer in coarse cloth, a disciple of the Khwāja Imām Abū Bakr Fadhl-u'llah, a holy person of Bukhārā, earnestly appeals to his master for the release of his son, convicted of adultery, and secures it.

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f 166b	f 218a	1469	How Sa'id b. 'Amr obtains the release of his old friend, Yazid b. Muhallab, from 'Umar II.
"	f 218b	1470	The victory of Khudadad, the grocer, over the Khárijites, resulting from the observance by Fadhl b. Sahl of his old friendship.
f 167a	"	1471	Isháq 'Uqayl's fidelity to the Caliph al-Manşúr.
"	"	1472	Generous treatment of Khwája Abu'l-'Abbás al-Isfará'ini, the Wazír of the Sultan Maḥmud of Ghazna, towards his old acquaintance Abú Şaláh, the tailor from Bukhárá. (The story is related on the authority of Abú Aḥmad 'Abdu'llah b. Aḥmad the Faqih, one of the contemporary doctors in the School of Balkh, founded by the Wazír Abu'l-'Abbás).
f 168a	f 219a	1473	A contemporary of Hishám b. 'Abdu'l-Malik relates the glorious deeds of Hishám against the Byzantines without any fear of the Caliph al-Manşúr, the traditional enemy of the Umayyads.
"	"	1474	How Abú 'Abdu'llah rose to be the minister of the Caliph al-Mahdí, and fulfilled his promise to his colleagues, Aḥmad Abú Ayyúb and Aḥmad b. Abí Khálid. (This story resembles the legend of the Nizámu'l-Mulk and his promise to his friends). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
Part II, Chapter XX = XLV: On the Excellence of Charity Towards Kith and Kin.			
f 168b	f 219b	1475	A discourse and exhortation on the above virtue. The appearance of the Imam Ja'far b. Muḥammad 'aṣ-Şádiq before al-Manşúr and the citation of the Holy Tradition bearing on the treatment of kinsfolk, and al-Manşúr's taking compassion on the 'Alawí. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Khulafá-i-Banī'l-'Abbás</i> as the source, see above p. 47).
f 169a	"	1476	Ibráhím b. al-Mahdí pleads guilty, appeals to al-Ma'mún, and obtains his pardon.
f 169b	f 220a	1477	The Qádhí Ibnu's-Sawwár of Baghdád restores the son of his old friend to prosperity. (See 'Awfi's transl. of <i>T. F. S.</i> [Ind. off. 1432] f 5a).
f 170a	f 220b	1478	An old Byzantine seeks the protection of a young soldier of the invading army of Maslama b. 'Abdu'l-Malik who stands security for him because the old man chose him alone for that purpose; and in the end he proves to be the old man's son, (See <i>T. F. S.</i> pt I, ch. V, p. 92—3). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
Part II, Chapter XXI = XLVI: On the value of Secrecy and keeping Counsel.			
f 171a	"	1479	Introduction: Ibnu'l-Muqaffa's quotation of the maxim of Núshírwán about secrecy. The cause of Buzurjmíhr's assassination. Núshírwán punishes Buzurjmíhr with death for divulging his secret about the adopted daughter.
f 171b	f 221a	1480	Aḥmad Abú Ṭayyib Marwán, the secretary of the Caliph al-Mu'tadhid, pays the penalty of life for an offence of a similar nature.
"	"	1481	Núshírwán sentences the Governor of Armenia to death for divulging the secrets of the state.

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f 171b	f 221a	1482	al-Mu'tasim orders the execution of 'Ajib, the confidant of al-Ma'mun, for disclosing the secrets of his patron even though it tended to promote his own interests.
f 172a	f 221b	1483	'Abdu'l-Malik enjoins secrecy on his son Walid and refuses to hear the secrets of Mu'awiya.
"	"	1484	The deliberation of al-Ma'mun with his advisers about ruining Fadhl b. Sahl, and how the secret leaked out through Ibrahim b. 'Abbās.
f 172b	"	1485	The secret agent of Kisra, jealous of the Wazir Mahbūd, accuses him of poisoning the king's food, and compasses his death, later Kisra detects the mischief of the informer and kills him.
f 173a	f 222a	1486	Enmity between Abū 'Abdi'llah al-Barīdī, the Wazir and Ibnu'r-Rā'iq, the general, of al-Muttaql. Muḥammad b. Khalaf betrays the secret of the latter concerning the marriage of the Caliph's son with the daughter of the Amīr of Mawṣil, called Abu'l-Hayja', who consequently kills Ibnu'r-Rā'iq. The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-'Abbasiyan</i> as the source, see above, p. 49. (Cf. also <i>Eclipse</i> , ed. by Margoliouth, vol. II, p. 27, Arabic text).
f 173b	"	1487	Shāpūr, the Persian king, tells a state secret to all his ministers though one of them advises the king to tell each of them separately.
"	f 222b	1488	The scruples of the Sultan Maḥmūd in marrying the sister of his favourite, Ayāz; and the arguments, advanced by Abū Naṣr Mushkānī in favour of the marriage of the ruler with his subject, based on the historical accounts of the choices of Qubād and Bahrām Gūr. The chapter concludes with a panegyric on the Wazir, in which the Arabian descent of his patron is emphasised, and incidentally the form of the rhyme proves that his father's <i>Kunya</i> was Abū Sa'd and not Abū Sa'id.
Part II, Chapter XXII = XLVII: On the Excellence of Honesty.			
f 174b	f 223a	1489	An introduction on the virtue of honesty in which the <i>Kutub-i-Khalq or Khulq'ul-Insān</i> of the Shaykh Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq Maḥmūd of Nishāpūr is quoted (see above, p. 66). An old wretch, with the idea of disappointing his nephew, gives his wealth in the form of a load of tin to be thrown into the sea; it is saved by an honest merchant of Baṣra, who restores it to the rightful claimant. (The above-mentioned book is the source.)
f 175a	"	1490	The surprising honesty of a pick-pocket, who returned the purse of a rich merchant, which was given in to his keeping by mistake.
"	"	1491	The retort of Yazīd b. Mazyad, the governor of Ādharbāyjān and Armenia, to Yazīd-i اسكي (?), and the Caliph Hārūn's preference for a mean but honest governor over an obliging but dishonest one.
"	f 223b	1492	The story of the merchant who lost the large ruby of the Amīr of Khurāsān, and the honesty of his agent who accidentally found the lost ruby and restored it to the merchant who had been reduced to poverty. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, pp. 11—13).
f 175b	"	1493	Another story of the same kind. (Cf. <i>Ibid.</i> pt. II, pp. 13—14).
f 176b	f 224a	1494	An honest women restores after one year a lost money-bag of Khālid b. Rabī'.

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f 176b	f 224b	1495	The story of the three sons of Sa'd b. Naṣr of Surra-man-Ra'á, and the appointment of Salama, one of them, in the household of the Amīr Yūsuf Bughá, and later, as the trustee of the children of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, on account of his honesty.
f 177a	"	1496	Fudhayl b. 'Iyádh, the leader of the bandits, acts as a trustee for one of his victims, and surprises him by his piety which was incompatible with robbery.
f 177b	"	1497	The merchant of Damascus who came to grief on account of his dishonesty, and his son who refused to betray the trust of a dead warrior, and restored the money to his heirs, and was in the end rewarded with the office of the treasurer of 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán.
f 178a	f 225a	1498	The story of a dethroned prince who purchases three wise sayings from a wisdom-dealer, and tries to act upon them; consequently he gets back his throne, is delivered from evil, and attains to glory.
f 179a	f 225b	1499	A Qādhí of Baṣra trusts the owner of a gambling den more than he does himself, and advises a person to deposit wealth with him, giving an account of the honesty of that person. The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric on the Wazīr.
Part II, Chapter XXIII = XLVIII: On Beauty and Nobility of Character.			
ff 179	f 225b- f 226a	1500	Introduction dealing with the inherent qualities in man. A striking contrast of the natural tendencies of 'Adí b. Ḥátim of Ṭayy and his brother; their mother's experience while they were infants and later when they distributed charity from the Tower of Doles.
f 179b	f 226a	1501	Ghunayya, daughter of 'Aff and wife of the famous Ḥátim of Ṭayy, could not resist the noble passion of generosity even though she possessed only a few camels which had been allotted to her after she had suffered much distress.
f 180a	"	1502	The sad experience of an Arab who brought up a wolf-cub on the milk of a she-goat in the hope of changing the natural ferocity of the beast.
"	"	1503	The long-cherished hostility of 'Abdu'llah b. Málik towards Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide, and the noble attitude of Yaḥyá towards a scribe who forged a letter of recommendation from Yaḥyá to his enemy.
f 180b	f 226b	1504	The Caliph 'Alí's advice to an old man on conduct.
"	"	1505	The Prophet's grief at the death of an ill-natured orphan, and his explanation to his wife 'Á'isha.
"	"	1506	'Amr b. Sa'd's astonishment at al-Ma'mún's wearing an old and worn-out silk robe, and the Caliph's remark that the real dignity of the Caliphate does not consist in good clothes.
f 181a	"	1507	After the victorious entry of al-Ma'mún into Baghdád, he gives a fair warning to the notables of the Quraysh and to the sons of 'Abbás, who had raised the banner of revolt under Ibráhīm b. Mahdí.
"	"	1508	Aḥmad-i-Mudabbir(?)'s statement about al-Mutawakkil's secret order, concerning the execution of his proclamations and commands, to carry out immediately those that enhance the welfare of the public, and to submit the others to him again for his consideration.

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f 181a	f 227a	1509	Thumáma b. Ashras's interpretation of the saying of the Prophet about the 72 sects in Islám, and the Caliph al-Ma'mún's appreciation. (Anec. repeated I, i, 35).
"	"	1510	al-Ma'mún's early attempts to suppress rumours afloat in Baghdad; the gossip of the mill-owner and the gentle admonition of the Caliph. (<i>Ta'rikh-i-Tabari</i> as the source.)
f 181b	"	1511	The happy marriage of an accomplished couple, arising chiefly from the nobility of their characters; Raja, the son of Málik b. Sa'd, one of the ruined nobles of the court of al-Ma'mún, is married to the beautiful and virtuous daughter of Málik b. Híra(?), the governor of Basra.
f 182b	f 227b	1512	Muhammad b. Zayd, the 'Alawí ruler of Tabaristán, recounts the story of the clemency of Muhammad b. Zayd b. Hasan b. 'Alí towards Muhammad b. Hishám b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, their traditional enemy, in the affair of the ruby which al-Manşúr wanted to extort from him, and prevents his people from hurting a descendant of Yazíd. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> , pt. II, ch. VII, pp. 2—3).
f 183a	f 228a	1513	Sa'd b. Hishám's anxiety to understand the connection between the <i>Qur'án</i> and the conduct of the Prophet; and 'Á'isha's explanation that the <i>Qur'án</i> was his code of life.
"	"	1514	The Caliph 'Alí's supreme testimony to the glorious character of the Prophet.
f 183b	"	1515	Ṭáhir II presents to al-Mutawakkil a couple of verses, composed by his learned tutor Abú 'Ubayd Muhammad, in the form of a panegyric, embodying the ten prime qualities found in 'Abdu'llah b. Ṭáhir, whereupon the Caliph reinstates him in place of his father, as the governor of Khurásán.
"	"	1516	Courteousness of the youthful al-Ma'mún towards al-Aşma'í, his tutor, who had punished him severely, and his refusal to complain against him.
f 184a	f 228b	1517	The Caliph Hárún's practical demonstration before Zubayda of the contrast between the habits and tastes of his two sons al-Amín and al-Ma'mún; the former as a pleasure-loving prince, and the latter as a serious student of the problems of the state and ever ready for emergencies. (The <i>Siyar-ul-Mulúk</i> is mentioned as the book which al-Ma'mún used constantly to study, probably the work of 'Abdu'llah ibnu'l-Muqaffa', called the <i>Khudáy-Náma</i> , see above, pp. 55—9).
f 184b	f 229a	1518	Ja'far b. Sulaymán al-Háshimí, the governor of Basra, unable to bear the sight of an old servant of his being flogged severely for having stolen a precious necklace of pearls from his treasury, excuses the man on the pretext of his forgetfulness. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, p. 25).
f 185a	"	1519	The secretary Amír 'Abbás [b.] 'Umar-i Ghanawí strikes three blows on the neck of one of the poor nobles of the Diyár-i-Rabí'a, and atones for his misplaced joke by offering a patent to him in return, which the man presents to one of his governors, demands a high price for it, and is relieved from poverty. (<i>T. F. S.</i> as the source).
			The chapter ends with an encomium on the Wazír.

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			Part II, Chapter XXIV = XLIX: On the Value of Firmness of Resolution and Determination.
f 186a	f 229b	1520	A short introduction. The dirty habit of Hárún in his childhood of eating clay, and the admonitory remarks of his tutor, Khalíl b. Aḥmad, the famous grammarian, in consequence of which the Caliph determined to abandon this habit
"	"	1521	The early profession of the Mufasssír Qaffál-i Sháshí as a locksmith, his admiration for learning, and his firm determination to acquire knowledge, in spite of his age and discouragement. He takes an object lesson for himself from the falling drop which left its mark on the granite rock, and becomes a great theologian at last.
f 186b	"	1522	An Israelite hermit, who lived in seclusion on the peak of a mountain and though the forms of devotion which he used were irregular, was nevertheless enabled by his faith in God to cure the sick on his annual appearance.
"	f 230a	1523	The story of an ascetic, who, in testing the truth of his teacher's saying about persistence and the achievement of the ideal, takes up the seemingly impossible notion of marrying the daughter of the Caliph, surmounts all obstacles, and even goes to the length of draining the Euphrates and presenting to the Caliph the signet-ring which had dropped from his hand into the river.
f 187b	f 230b	1524	The story of one of the Wazírs of the ruler of Samarqand, related on the authority of the grandfather of the author al-ʿAwfí; and the story of the two slaves of Alexander the Great, Bashír and Nadhír. (<i>Tá'rikh-i-Iskandar-i-Rahmí</i> as the source).
f 188a	"	1525	The Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Din Ibráhím of Ghazna's order to a stone-bearer to lay down his burden. The stone though an obstacle remained at the same place in Ghazna. (See above, pp. 30, 67—8).
"	"	1526	The above Sultan's resentment at the unsatisfactory conduct of his successor (See above, p. 68).
"	f 231a	1527	A contemporary account of the forgery of coins by one of the generals, and Iltutmish's exemplary behaviour. The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part II, Chapter XXV = L: On the Merits of Consultation and the Defects of independent Judgment.
f 188b	"	1528	A short introduction. ʿAmr b. Ibráhím's inquiry about the counsellors of the Caliph ʿAlí and his rival Muʿawiya. The former had none, while the latter was guided by the diplomat ʿAmr ibnu'l-ʿĀṣ.
f 189a	f 231b	1529	al-Aṣmaʿí's appreciation of the verses of Bashshár b. Burd, on the excellence of Consultation; and the author al-ʿAwfí's apt citations from the poet al-Mutanabbí on the same subject.
"	"	1530	The consultation of Núḥ b. Abí Maryam, the disciple of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa, with a Jewish sage concerning the marriage of the former's

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			daughter. Acting upon his advice, Nuḥ, the Qādhī of Marw, chooses one of his Turkish slaves, named Mubarak, for the hand of his daughter, to whom is born 'Abdu'llah b. Mubarak, the famous traditionist and divine of Khurásán. (Cf. Ṭabari II, pp. 1, 5, etc., also, Ibn-Khallikán, (Wust.) Biog. No. 321: 'Abdu'llah b. 118 A. H. = 736 A. D., d. 182 A. H. = 799 A. D.). (There are different versions about the marriage).
f 189a	f 231b	1531	Bashshár b. Burd's satire on Ya'qúb b. Da'ud, the Wazír of al-Mahdí, and the trap prepared for the poet by Ibrahím, one of the advisers of the Wazír, and his assassination.
f 189b	"	1532	Ḥasan b. Sahl, the Wazír of al-Ma'mun, consults his advisers about the execution of Zayd b. Músá, the 'Alawí, who was captured after his revolt in Ṭabaristan, and spares his life lest the Caliph should change his mind, as he ultimately did.
f 190a	f 232a	1533	al-Manṣúr gives his uncle 'Abdu'llah b. 'Alí into the charge of 'Ísá b. Músá and secretly orders his assassination; while 'Ísá consults Yúnus Abú Farwa ¹⁾ , who warns him of the the Caliph's treacherous plan and prevents him from carrying it out.
"	"	1534	The cause of the weakness of the Samánids being the dismissal of the experienced Wazír, Núḥ II favours the appointment of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Utbí Ja'far, and overrides the opinion of the veteran general as-Símjúrī and sends Aḥmad-i-Fárs to disgrace him publicly. (Cf. The <i>Chahar Maqála</i> pp. 103—5 and note the differences).
f 190b	f 232b	1535	Khálid the Barmecide's opinion, first, in favour of the preservation of the Aywán-i Kisrá, and afterwards his explicit desire to see it demolished at any cost.
f 191a	"	1536	The refusal of the Khwaja Abu'l-'Abbas al-Isfará'iní of the slave which the Sultan Maḥmúd wanted. (Anec. repeated <i>Ta'rikh-i-Yamini</i> as the source, see above p. 62).
f 191b	f 233a	1537	Two obstinate litigants, who invited misery on themselves in the presence of the judge.
f 192a	f 233b	1538	The fatal obstinacy of Muayyidu'l-Mulk, the great Wazír Nizámu'l-Mulk, in dismissing Ja'far Zawzaní, the secretary, in spite of the orders of Maliksháh the Saljúq.
f 192b	f 234a	1539	The Ílak Khán of Máwará'u'n-Nahr unwisely attacks the country of Khurásán, and is reduced to sore straits by the invading Sultan Maḥmúd. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Násiri</i> as the source, see above p. 62).
f 193a	"	1540	Fadhí b. Sahl takes vengeance on his opponents, in spite of the Caliph's disapproval, and is ruined.
			The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír, and with it Pt. II also.

¹⁾ The correct reading is Ibn Farwa (Ṭabari III, 329).

A Complete Table of Contents of the Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyat.

Part III, Chapters LI—LXXV. On the Despicability of Vices: Blamable qualities and Contemptible Traits in Human Nature.

Part III, Chapter I = LI. On the Diversity of Temperament in Mankind.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
Introduction to the third part:			
f 193a	f 234b		Doxology, dedicatory note with a panegyric on his patron, Muḥammad b. Abī S'ad al-Junaydī called Qiwāmu'd-Dīn, entitled the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, the Wazīr of the Sultan Iltutmish of India, who ruled in Dehli A. H. 607—633 = A. D. 1211—1236.
"	"		An exordium to the first chapter, the old Greek conception of the influence of the Humours on the temperament of Man, and the causes of diversity in human nature.
"	"	1541	Drinking as the best test of the temperament of mankind, and the influence of wine on different people. (The <i>Ṭabā'i'u'l-Ḥayawān</i> of al-Jāḥiẓ as the source, see above, pp. 96—7).
f 194a	f 235a	1542	al-Jāḥiẓ's surprise at the waxing eloquence of 'Abdu'llah 'Umayy (?) after he had taken excessive wine, at a banquet given by the sons of 'Abdu'l-Malik Riyāshī (?). (See above, p. 97).
"	"	1543	An observation on the mentality of short-statured persons, taken from the <i>Kitābu'l-Firāsa</i> , and supported by the experience of Nūshīrwān about a dwarf which is related on the authority of the <i>Ta'rikh-i-Ikhsira</i> . (See above, pp. 100; 56, 60).
"	"	1544	The temperament of Altūn-Tāsh, the Chamberlain of the Amīr Ismā'īl the Sāmānid, exhibited in a striking contrast to that of 'Umar II, on a similar occasion of grievance.
f 194b	f 235b	1545	A philosopher, when questioned about the art of judging character from features, advises a person not to make himself doubly ugly, and quotes the retort of Plato to a stupid disciple of his, who had taunted him for his ugliness. (The <i>Kitābu'l-Firāsa</i> is mentioned in this connection).
"	"	1546	The perverted Nīk-shinās meets his retribution by the command of Kay-Khusraw.
"	"	1547	Diogenes, the philosopher, praises an old stupid person for having dyed his beard, and when questioned by his disciples says that grey hair and foolishness are incompatible; the dyeing of his beard eliminated one incongruity, hence his praise.
"	"	1548	Alexander the Great cannot tolerate that his namesake should be an uncivilised boor.
"	"	1549	The story of the four travellers, and the mental test applied by an Indian princess to detect the one who stole a precious pearl from one of his fellow-travellers. (An instance of experimental psychology, as practised in ancient India, drawn from a work of Jānā, an Indian philosopher).

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 195b	f 236b	1550	Argument about the heredity of Temperament in mankind.
"	"	1551	The offspring of a noble father, named Zakī (?), and a wicked mother, called Nūsh (?), displays his mixed nature by turns.
f 196a	"	1552	A striking contrast of the temperament of 'Adī and 'Abdu'llah, the two sons of Hātim of Tayy, and the experiences of their mother while they were sucklings. (Anecdote repeated, see above, II. xxiii. 1500). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the above-mentioned Wazīr.
			Part III, Chapter II = LII: On the Contemptibility of Rancour and Envy.
f 196b	"	1553	Introduction on the despicability of envy illustrated from the Verses of the <i>Qur'ān</i> and Tradition. The Prophet predicts the arrival of one of the Helpers and designates him as one of the people of Paradise; 'Abdu'llah b. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ tests him regularly for three days, and finds him quite free from jealousy.
"	f 237a	1554	The retort of Abū Manṣūr-i-'Azīz, the Samānid Wazīr, to one of his envious opponents.
"	"	1555	The preacher who repeated the same formula daily at the court of one of the Kisrā's, and his slanderous enemy who falls a victim to his own prey.
f 197b	f 237b	1556	The Jewess who wanted to poison a follower of the Prophet incidentally becomes the cause of poisoning her own sons.
"	"	1557	A malevolent neighbour implores his slave to kill him, and throw his corpse at the door of his virtuous neighbour in order to accuse him of murder. (<i>Khalqul-Insān</i> , as the source, see above, p. 66).
"	"	1558	The four old Wazīrs of the ruler Ālan ¹⁾ conspire against the new favourite of the king, called Abū Tammām, and send him away to ask the hand of the daughter of the Khan of Turkistān, which was considered to be a perilous undertaking; Abū Tammām succeeds in his mission and brings back the bride of the king; again the Wazīrs contrive to bring him under the suspicion of the king, and succeed this time. The king kills him, but soon after discovers the plot and kills all the other Wazīrs in turn. (Cf. <i>Bakhtiyār-nāma</i> , Paris litho. pp. 107, 110—117).
f 199a	f 238a	1559	The jealousy of Fadhl and Yaḥyá, the Barmecide brothers, against 'Abdu'llah b. Málík al-Khuẓá'ī ending in their own downfall. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Āl-i-'Abbās</i> , as the source, see above, p. 47). The chapter ends as usual with an encomium on the Wazīr.
			Part III, Chapter III = LIII: On the Contemptibility of Avarice and the Meanness of Greedy Persons.
f 199b	f 238b	1560	Introduction illustrated with a few lines from the poet Sanā'ī on the evils of Avarice. Alexander the Great's encounter with the Faghfūr of Chín, who surprises Alexander by his visit, in disguise, and by the numbers of his army.

¹⁾ In *Alif Layla* بلان

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 200a	f 239a	1561	Núshírwán pleased at the motive of an aged man, who was planting a nutmeg tree for the benefit of his successors. (Anec. repeated. Cf. above, I, xvi, 887). (Cf. also <i>N. S. N.</i> p. 118).
f 200b	"	1562	A monk notices a very edifying inscription on a tablet in one of the Egyptian tombs. (A quatrain on predestination, " <i>Qadhd</i> ", cited.)
"	"	1563	The invitation of Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, the governor of Sind, sent to Khalíl b. Aḥmad and his reply in verse.
"	"	1564	The fable of the toiling ant and the greedy wasp. (The <i>Laḏ'ifu'l-Ishārāt</i> as the source(?)).
"	f 239b	1565	The discontented guest of Sulaymán-i-Daránī.
f 201a	"	1566	Ya'qúb b. Layth's tribute to Sahl b. 'Abdu'llah at-Tustarī for healing him from an incurable disease, and the saint's remark about worldly gains. (Cf. above, I, iii, 99).
"	"	1567	Hippocrates's seclusion and refusal to treat the King.
"	"	1568	A beautiful and rich heiress requests Thábit-i-Bannání to offer her hand to Málík-i-Dínár, which the latter does not accept. (Cf. <i>A. T. A.</i> I, p. 42, ll. 6—11).
f 201b	"	1569	The greedy cat of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad of Baghdád and the remark which he made on seeing her dead.
f 202a	"	1570	The mania of a stupid person to become rich: his dream and the consequent disillusionment. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter IV = LIV: On the Contemptibility of Covetousness.
f 202b	f 240a	1571	Introduction illustrated by Kháqán's verses. The Prophet David was taught the art of making armour to earn his livelihood from his own handicraft.
f 203a	f 240b	1572	Gushtásp, while in exile, works as a blacksmith and maintains himself in Constantinople, and when re-crowned makes a training in handicrafts compulsory as part of the education of the notables of Persia. (<i>Ta'rikh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam</i> , as the source, see above, p. 56).
"	"	1573	'Amr b. Zariḥ the Arab sage's advice to his son, and his verses on the dangers that beset a covetous person.
"	"	1574	The Prophet abhors two kinds of greed, the one which is ingrained in a man's nature and the other which leads to begging of an ungenerous person.
"	"	1575	A ruler of Khurásán rejects the composition of a poet on hearing that the poet had no desire for gain.
"	"	1576	The Caliph al-Manṣūr wants a story-teller. Rabī', the Chamberlain, chooses Ibnu'l-'Abbás (?) on condition that he should not ask for anything from the Caliph, but the humourist cleverly suggests and gets his reward.
f 203b	"	1577	The ardent desire of a prince of Kirmán to learn a craft. He selects mat-weaving through which he saves himself from the horrible dungeon of a Jew, and contrives to capture him.
f 204b	f 241b	1578	How a tribesman of Ma'add become notorious for covetousness, and the origin of the proverb " <i>Muqallibu's-Ṣakhra</i> ".

A.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 204b	f 241b	1579	The story of the avaricious Abu'l-'Ala' Ash'ab b. Jubayr (d. 154 A. H.), and the lads and the brazier. (Cf. Ibn Khallikan (Wust.) Biog. No. 293).
f 205a	"	1580	Ash'ab the Greedy afraid of informing his mother suddenly of the gift of a slave, lest she might burst to death with joy.
"	"	1581	Ash'ab the Greedy's description of the depth of his covetousness at Salim b. 'Abdu'llah's request.
"	"	1582	The monk who first acted on the precept of Jesus and offered his garment to a beggar, but on the importunate demands of the greedy person adopted the precept of Muḥammad the Prophet, and punished him. (Tha'alibi's <i>Kitab-i-Mulāḥu'n-Nawādir</i> (?) as the source).
"	"	1583	The greedy Ash'ab behaves shamelessly for the sake of victuals in presence of the family of Sālim b. 'Abdu'llah b. 'Umar. (<i>Majma'u'l-Anṭhal</i> as the source). The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric.
Part III, Chapter V = LV: On Robbers and strange Anecdotes about them.			
f 206a	f 242a	1584	Introduction; different kinds of robbery and punishment. A novice, advised by the leader of a gang in Nishāpūr to eat with his left hand, since the right one might be cut off at any moment.
"	"	1585	A villain robs the property of a merchant from a storehouse in an inn, and escapes feloniously through a tunnel.
"	f 242b	1586	Sulaymān, the chief of a gang, orders the restoration of the property of a person whose salutations were accepted. (<i>Mulāḥu'n-Nawādir</i> as the source).
"	"	1587	Strange scruples of a robber who came out of the treasury of Malik Mu'ayyad of Mawara'u'n-Nahr without stealing anything, simply because he happened to taste the salt of the Malik; consequently he is made a general of the army of Nishāpūr.
f 207a	"	1588	The story of a villager who first lived as a robber and, after being punished, felt penitent and lived honestly. (The Author heard it from the villager, while he was yet a child and travelling with his grandfather in one of the suburbs of Bukhārā).
f 207b	f 243a	1589	'Abdu'llah aṣ-Ṣūfī relates the story of a ruined youth, and the circumstances which led to his prosperity. (<i>T. F. S.</i> as the source, and Anwarī cited at the end of the anecdote).
f 208a	f 243b	1590	Abu'l-Qāsim Ṣaffār, a native of Nasībīn, goes to Diyār-i-Rabfā, to present an excellent sword to the Amīr 'Abbās b. 'Amr al-Ghanawī, and while returning with his reward on his way home encounters an Arab brigand and accidentally succeeds in entrapping him to death. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 50—2).
f 208b	"	1591	The three felons who robbed the peasant of a she-goat, his donkey, and his clothes.
f 209a	"	1592	Muḥammad Badī' al-'Uqaylī relates the story of a romantic youth of his tribe, who robbed a fine horse from the Banū Bakr to win the hand of his cousin. (See <i>T. F. S.</i> , pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 55—6). The chapter ends with an encomium on the Wazīr.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			Part III, Chapter VI = LVI: On the Interesting Anecdotes of Beggars.
f 209b- f 210a	ff 244	1593	Introduction describing the different methods of begging. Abú Zayd as-Sarújī's earnest advice to his son about the choice of a profession, beggary being the best of all. (The <i>Maqāmāt</i> of al-Ḥarīrī as the source.)
f 210b	f 244b	1594	Narrative of the marvellous feats of the family of Shaykh 'Abbās of Nīshápūr, the prince of beggars.
f 211b	f 245b	1595	Another artful beggar plays a hoax on the people of Nīshápūr, and collects money under the pretence of showing his tail which (he said) was a relic of his ancestors, who had been turned into apes.
f 212a	"	1596	The Qādhl of Ūsh in Farghāna plays a practical joke on the people of Sīstān, makes himself dumb, adopts the profession of a water-bearer, and implores the chief Qādhl to pray for the recovery of the lost faculty. After a time he visits the Qādhl to thank him for the restoration of his speech, asks permission to show his gratitude in a public oration, collects a large amount of money, and on his way home sends a humorous piece of composition to the people of Sīstān revealing his identity and their stupidity. (The <i>Miftāḥu'n-Najāḥ</i> (?) of the Qādhl of Ūsh as the source.)
f 212b	"	1597	Two beggars make a mutual contract: one of them establishes his reputation as a pious preacher in Rayy, while the other comes from outside and claims damages for manslaughter from the former; the people sympathise with their preacher and subscribe a large sum for him.
f 213a	f 246a	1598	The mischievous pact of a mad person in the Bīmāristān of Ghazna with a turban-mender in the town.
"	"	1599	Abú Dulāma, the poet, cajoles the Caliph as-Saffāh, and obtains rewards from him. (The <i>Mulāḥu'n-Nawādir</i> as the source.) The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazīr.
			Part III, Chapter VII = LVII: On the Contemptibility of Falsehood and the Advantages of Truth.
f 213b	f 246b	1600	Introduction. The Caliph Abú Bakr's exhortations against falsehood.
"	"	1601	The Caliph 'Alī's single counsel to a newly converted Muslim prevents him from committing a multitude of sins.
f 214a	"	1602	Two Khārijite victims save themselves from the machinations of al-Ḥajjāj by virtue of their veracity.
"	"	1603	Aḥnaf b. Qays's deliberate refusal to speak of the Caliph 'Alī in the presence of Mu'āwiya.
"	"	1604	al-Mustarshid the Caliph's dying words to his son, "Oh my son! if thou desirest to be feared, then do not tell lies, for verily the liar is never feared even though he may be surrounded by a thousand swords".
"	"	1605	Naṣr b. al-Ḥārīth affronts Thābit b. Sharwān in joke, in the presence of Fadhl b. Sahl; Thābit is annoyed, and Fadhl snubs him by saying that he lost his honour the day he told him that he went on his camel from Dāmghān to Nīshápūr in one night — a highly improbable thing.

D.	G.	Serial.	FILES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 214b	f 246b	1606	Abū Muḥammad Khāzin's defence of poetic fiction in a literary discussion held in the Ṣāhib Isma'īl b. 'Abbad's salon.
"	"	1607	Manṣūr, an emissary of the Caliph Harun, pretends deafness in audience of the Byzantine King and succeeds in his mission, but incurs the grave displeasure of the Caliph for having told a lie.
f 215a	f 247a	1608	Ḥasan of Baṣra, while persecuted by al-Ḥajjāj, takes refuge in the convent of Ḥabīb-i-'Ajamī and is miraculously hidden from the sight of his pursuers.
f 215b	"	1609	al-Faraj al-Rukhkhajī, the governor of Ahwaz, averts the wrath of the Caliph Hārūn by confessing what he did during the term of his office, and how little wealth he had amassed.
"	f 247b	1610	Yūsuf b. 'Abdu'llah b. 'Uḥṣman b. Abī'l-'Āṣ, a refugee of Baṣra, stands firm before al-Ḥajjāj and gains his approbation.
f 216a	"	1611	A trader, who was patronised at the court of the Khan of Chīn, exports ten ostriches to prove the validity of his statement.
"	"	1612	Abū 'Amr ibnu'l-'Alā', the famous reciter of the <i>Qur'un</i> , explains to his pupils the defects which disqualify a man from leadership.
f 216b	"	1613	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhir rewards doubly a student of theology for his candour in confessing that his own view about the belief in God differed from that of 'Abdu'llah and his own fellow-students.
"	f 248a	1614	Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn liberates Zayd-i-Shuja', a spy of 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhan, on account of his veracity.
f 217a	"	1615	Faḍḥl b. Yahyā, the Barmecide, challenges the anticipation of Naṣr, the poet, about the divorce which Faḍḥl was planning, but afterwards admits he was right and rewards him.
"	"	1616	Khālid, the Barmecide, perjures himself in the hope of causing 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Mūsā to withdraw his claim to the Caliphate in favour of al-Mahdī, upon which al-Mūriyānī, his rival, works upon al-Manṣūr and brings him to disgrace.
f 217b	f 248b	1617	Abu'l-Ḥusayn b. Rabī'a b. Aḥmad al-Jāmī(ī), the poet, is disgraced by Qābūs b. Washmgīr because he pretended to remember 5000 lines of al-Ma'mūn's poetry, but when challenged could not produce more than fourteen verses.
f 218a	"	1618	Ḥasan b. al-Qaṭṭaba relates the story of the accusation of al-Mahdī against Ishāq for his pretensions to the Caliphate, and how he wanted Ya'qūb b. Dā'ūd, the courtier, to corroborate his statement, which the latter denied, reminding the Caliph how the suspicion arose in his mind. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr.
			Part III, Chapter VIII = LVIII: On Heresiarchs and Pseudo-Prophets.
f 218b- f 219a	f 249a	1619	Introduction dealing with the excellence of the prophets, in general, and the super-excellence of Muḥammad. An account of the life and mission of Zoroaster and of his book <i>Zend Avesta</i> , and of Gushtāsp's acceptance of his faith, and in what relations the Magians stood to Islām. (As

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
			regards the last point, the author quotes on the authority of his great ancestor, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. al-'Awf, from whom he draws his <i>nisba</i> , al-'Awfi, what the Prophet had said with respect to the Zoroastrians: "Consider them as the People of the Book". (Cf. above, I, iv, 141). (A part of this anecdote is quoted in Ouseley's "The Collection of Essays etc.", vol. ii, p. 363, see above, p. 31).
f 219b	f 249a	1620	The Caliph 'Alī gives the reason for the remission of the <i>Jizya</i> in the case of the Magians, and explains how they lost their Book.
"	"	1621	Zoroaster, being a great astrologer, comes to know the time of his death, and disappears in a forest, giving out that he has ascended to Heaven; but later his corpse is discovered, which leads to his posthumous ignominy.
"	"	1622	A detailed account of Manes: his first appearance in Shāpūr's court, — Manichæan doctrine — Dualism — his five books, the <i>Injil</i> , <i>Kutāb-i-Shapūriyyan</i> , <i>Kānu' l-Ikya'</i> , <i>Sifrū' l-Jabābira</i> and <i>Sifrū' l-Israr</i> are enumerated (see above, pp. 41—2). The propagation of his faith and his miserable fate in the reign of Bahrām b. Hurmuz. (See above, I, iv, 162—3).
f 220b	f 250a	1623	A very detailed account of Mazdak: his early appearance in the reign of Qubād, his contrivance to make the fire speak, — Qubād tries him and accepts his faith, Nūshīrwān's protests against the communistic doctrines of Mazdak; — the feast and the massacre of the Mazdakites, and restoration of peace to the country (see above, I, iv, 182, 183). (Cf. <i>N. S. A.</i> pp. 166—81; the whole account agrees entirely).
f 223a	f 251a	1624	The appearance of Māh-Āfarīd or Bih-Āfarīdh in the days of Abū Muslim Marghazī, the propagandist of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, a sketch of his early career and voyage to Chīn, his return and declaration of his doctrines, and his capture at the hands of 'Abdu'llah b. Sha'ba, and his assassination. (This account resembles minutely that in the <i>B. A. B.</i> , pp. 210—11, cf. <i>al-Fihrist</i> , p. 344).
"	f 251b	1625	The rising of Hāshim b. Ḥakam al-Muqanna' "the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān" in the reign of al-Mahdī; the moon which he raised from the well of Nakhshab, his suicide, and his followers "called the White-clad". (See above, I, v, 292). (Again the details in this case also resemble al-Bīrunī's version closely, cf. <i>B. A. B.</i> , p. 211; Ibn Khallikān (<i>Wust.</i>) Biogr. No. 431).
f 223b	"	1626	Maḥmūd, called 'Alawī Aylāqī, revives the doctrines of al-Muqanna' and Bābak al-Khurramī, and claims prophetic attributes in Marw in the reign of Malikshāh Saljūqī, whereupon by the decree of the judges and the order of the king he is stoned to death.
"	"	1627	The mad son of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Anbārī pretends to be a prophet, and is put to death. The chapter ends with a glorious panegyric on the mighty efforts of the Wazīr in establishing the true religion.
			Part III, Chapter IX = LIX: On the Despicability of Miserliness.
ff 224	f 252a	1628	Introduction. Abū Šābir, the miser of Baṣra, and his assistant.

D.	G.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES.
f 225a	f 252b	1629	'Amr b. Layth is put to shame for having a miserly servant in his household on the occasion of a banquet.
"	"	1630	A maid-servant ruins a wealthy trader of Marw, called the son of Abu Šamit, in punishment for his extremely mean behaviour.
f 226a	f 253a	1631	Abū 'Ubayda relates an instance of 'Abdu'llah b. Zubayr's stinginess, as a parallel to the proverbial miserliness of Māriz. (<i>Maḥṣan'ul-Amthal</i> as the source).
"	"	1632	Hāmid, the dealer in sal ammoniac, a wealthy miser of Marw, is cheated by Ismā'il, and is punished by Muḥammad-i-Sahl, the Amīr of Marw, for his misbehaviour.
f 227a	f 253b	1633	The story of a wealthy miser and his clever slave.
"	"	1634	An interesting visit of a Kūfī miser to another famous miser of Baṣra and his entertainment. (The <i>Kitāb-i-Nathru'l-Durar</i> of Abu Naṣr (?) Tha'alibī as the source).
f 227b	"	1635	A guest surprised at the economy of a host who would not let his children sleep soundly, lest they might digest the food and get up hungry in the morning.
"	"	1636	A Kūfī miser reproaches his son for still being in need of scent to make his bread catable.
"	f 254a	1637	Another story of a Kūfī lad who wanted to sell his wholesome bread.
f 228a	"	1638	A Kūfī host starves his guest the whole night with the lame excuse that late meals cause disease.
"	"	1639	A miserly Kūfī quarrels with his neighbour for having misappropriated the bones of a sheep's head, which he had deposited at his own door, to exhibit his hospitality.
"	"	1640	A miser's favourite habit of talking to a piece of coin, which unfortunately happened to fall into his hands. (The <i>Kitāb-i-Khalq'u'l-Insān</i> as the source, see above p. 66). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the generosity of the Wazīr.
			Part III, Chapter X = LX: On the Contemptibility of Perjury and bad Faith.
f 228b	ff 254	1641	Introduction. The Prophet prefers to ignore the troubles of his daughter rather than break his promise of awarding a war-slave to Abu'l-Haytham.
"	f 254b	1642	The Prophet Ismā'il waits for two days at the same place in fulfilment of his promise.
"	"	1643	Afrāsiyāb's vow to succour the weak and oppressed and to subjugate the cruel and high-handed.
"	"	1644	Mu'āwiya confers with 'Amr ibnu'l-ʿĀṣ on the eve of the Battle of Siffin and explains how institutions soon fall into decay if promises are not kept.
f 229a	"	1645	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwān breaks his promise to 'Amr b. Sa'īd ibnu'l-ʿĀṣ, and orders his assassination, which in the end leads to his own ruin.
f 229b	f 255a	1646	A court jester taunts a Wazīr of the ruler of Khurāsān who would promise people to do anything for them, but never kept his word.

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f 229b	f 255a	1647	The pact of Ghassán b. Jahm and his wife Umm-i-'Uqba bint 'Amr not to marry again after each other's death; but after the death of Ghassán Umm-i-'Uqba marries again, and sees the apparition of her former husband, and dies afflicted. (The <i>Kitáb-i-Shajaratul-'Aql</i> as the source (?)).
f 230a	"	1648	Báytúz attacks Tugháytigín (?), the ruler of Bust, who seeks protection from Náṣiru'd-Dín Sabuktigín. Sabuktigín after a hard fight restores Tugháytigín to the dependency of Bust, but the ungrateful chief turns traitor, breaks his promises, and conspires against Sabuktigín, who punishes the rebel and captures Bust. (Abú Naṣr al-'Utbi's <i>Kitáb-i-Yamīni</i> as the source, see above, pp. 62, 64—5).
f 231a	f 255b	1649	The Khán of Chín, called the son of Sáwají, violates the contract with the Tamgháj Khán of Káshghar and invades Turkistán; the Tamgháj Khán with the help of Ḥaṣr (? Khidīr) Beg defeats him. The chapter ends with a short note on the faithlessness and perjury of Malik Náṣiru'd-Dín Qabácha, towards Shamsu'd-Dín Iluttmish, and the consequent overthrow of the former, which is fully dealt with in the Preface to the first part of this book.
			Part III, Chapter XI = LXI: On the Contemptibility of Ignorance.
f 232b	f 256b	1650	A short introduction which is illustrated by the two favourite couplets of Khwája 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd. The stupidity of Abú Sahl in calling every one who bore the name of Aḥmad a fool, while defending his son in the presence of the Wazír Khwája Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí.
"	f 257a	1651	Yaḥyá b. Khálid the Barmecide's remark on the difference of the expressions of the Arabs and Persians concerning a person who lacked common sense. (Saná'í cited.)
f 233a	"	1652	Aḥmad b. Ibráhím, an adherent of Ráfi' b. Harīhama, adopts a foolish method of taking revenge upon Abú Sa'íd Durghání (? Farghání), the governor of Khwárazm, who had killed his master, by poisoning the tanks which supplied Khwárazm with water. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Khurásán</i> as the source, see above, p. 45).
"	"	1653	The reply of a wise man about an idiot.
"	"	1654	Ráfi' b. Harīhama, on account of his foolish notion of patronage, refuses to change his old barber, in spite of the wounds which the barber inflicted on his head; whence he derived the nickname of "the possessor of the scars". (See above p. 46).
f 233b	f 257b	1655	Abú Shuja' Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'llah al-Khujistání befools his master Ibráhím Sarkab (?), incites Ya'qúb b. Layth against him, compasses his death and elevates himself. (The <i>Akhbár-i-Ál-i-Layth</i> , probably as-Sallúm's <i>Ta'rikh</i> , is meant, see above p. 46).
f 234a	"	1656	'Umar II dismisses Qutayba b. Muslim from the governorship of Khurásán on the ground of ignorance of a simple verse from the <i>Qur'án</i> , about the period of creation.
"	"	1657	The Caliph al-Ma'mún asserts that all men who grow long beards lack common sense, and proves his statement to be correct on the fortuitous

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			appearance of Abu Ḥamdawayh ʿAlawiyya. (An indefinite allusion to one of the works of al-Jaḥiẓ).
f 234a	f 258a	1658	The foolish son of a wealthy trader of Bukhara, in rivalry with the Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad the Samānīd, lays out a polo field, and ruins himself in dissipation, and once in drunkenness goes so far as to order his slave to bring the head of the Amīr to him.
f 235a	"	1659	How Ibnū'l-ʿAtīq, a foolish courtier of ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwān, used to reckon the advent of the winter season. (On the authority of ash-Shaʿbī).
"	"	1660	How Yazīd b. Marwān, the simpleton, acquired the nickname of Dhu'l-Wadaʿāt. (<i>Majmaʿu'l-Iṣṭihāl</i> as the source).
"	"	1661	Muʿawiya describes the six traits of a fool.
f 235b	f 258b	1662	A stupid dervish remained silent for ten years in the company of the Shaykh Muḥammad of Nishapur, but, when he opened his mouth, revealed his folly in one impertinent question.
"	"	1663	Two stupid litigants from amongst the Hashimites before the chief judge.
"	"	1664	Shahīd al-Balkhī, the poet and philosopher, interrupted by an ignorant person while studying a book, retorts mercilessly. (See for his life, <i>Chahār Maqāla</i> , Text, pp. 127—8).
"	"	1665	The Imām Abū Ḥanīfa's retort to an impudent fool, who appeared naked before him in the bathroom.
"	"	1666	Aristotle's sarcastic remark in answer to the taunt of his pupils about learning to play upon a stringed musical instrument at the age of seventy. The chapter ends as usual with a Panegyric.
			Part III, Chapter XII = LXII: On the Contemptibility of Tyranny and on the History of unjust Rulers.
ff 236	f 258b— f 259a	1667	Introduction dealing with the evil effects of cruelty and the efficacy of the invocations of the oppressed. ʿAbdu'llah b. Ṭāhir orders his falconer to pull out the wings of a falcon that impudently attacked an eagle.
f 236b	f 259a	1668	Ziyād, the adopted brother of Muʿawiya, murders 1,500 inhabitants of Baṣra in one night-patrol, and strikes terror into the hearts of the people.
"	"	1669	In justification of his high-handed policy al-Ḥajjāj gives a genuine gold coin to a learned man, who complained against his tyranny in Baṣra, in order that he might ascertain for himself what it was worth in the market, and recognise that the people of Baṣra were being treated according to their deserts.
f 237a	"	1670	Socrates, when attacked by the furious mob, told his wife that it was preferable to die more sinned against than sinning.
"	"	1671	al-Ḥajjāj's taunting proclamation to the people who were rejoicing on the eve of his death.
"	"	1672	A tyrant smitten by an earthquake at the invocation of an old woman whose house he had demolished in order to build a palace for himself.
"	"	1673	A general who billets himself on a Shaykh dies of colitis.
f 237b	"	1674	al-Ḥajjāj dies of paralysis within 40 days of the assassination of one of the great <i>Tadāsīs</i> , Saʿīd b. Jubayr.
"	f 260a	1675	The Sultan Masʿūd punishes a chieftain of Ghūr for his atrocity towards a dervish.

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f 238a	f 260a	1676	The threat of al-Ḥajjāj to the people of 'Iraq after its conquest.
"	"	1677	A learned man in his talk with the Amīr Ismā'īl the Sāmānid ascribes the decay of Khurāsān after the Ṭāhirids to the tyranny of the Ṣaffārids who succeeded them.
f 238b	f 260b	1678	Walīd b. 'Abdu'l-Malik puts Ḥabīb b. 'Abdu'llah b. Zubayr to death for describing him as the Pharaoh of the day, but Nemesis follows soon after.
f 239a	"	1679	'Umar II's opinion about the oath of a person who had made his divorce conditional on al-Ḥajjāj being in Hell.
"	"	1680	Muzaffar the mad, a cruel governor of Maḥmūd's, punished by Abū Ḥabīb as atrociously as he had treated the poor peasants.
f 239b	f 261a	1681	A belated pilgrim admires an old woman who preferred to live on snakes and bitter water in her valley, rather than be a citizen of a town where tyranny was rampant. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr. Part III, Chapter XIII = LXIII: On the Contemptibility of Hard-Heartedness and bad Temper and on the Laudability of Politeness and Humaneness.
f 240a	ff 261	1682	Introduction, illustrated by the story of the importunate beggar, and the occasion of the revelation of the Verse "And as for him who asks, do not chide (him)." The account of the doings of the two public prosecutors Amir-i-Yaras or Ḥaras, appointed by al-Ma'mūn, offers a striking contrast of their temper and reputation. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Āl-i-Abbās</i> as the source, see above, p. 48).
f 241a	f 262a	1683	al-Ḥajjāj entrusts an 'Asādmard', a freeman, to Aḥmad b. Mubashshir al-A'raj, to whom he discharges his liabilities voluntarily, whereas Ma'bad could not extort anything from him in spite of his brutal measures.
f 241b	"	1684	Bāwardī(?), an apparently harsh prefect of police in the days of the Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, discloses the mystery of the successful management of the city under his régime. (The <i>Dastirū'l-Il'uzard</i> of the Sultan Radhiyyu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd of Ghazna as the source, see above, p. 67).
f 242a	"	1685	'Alqama b. Wā'il al-Anṣārī al-Ḥadhramī's visit to the Prophet in Madīna, and the insults which he heaped on Mu'āwiya, while he was being escorted by him as a guest of honour to a residence far off on the outskirts of the city in the scorching heat of the desert; and Mu'āwiya's courtesy to him after he succeeded to the Caliphate.
"	"	1686	Abū Shujā' Aḥmad [b. 'Abdu'llah al-Khujistānī] treats brutally Muzaffar, the son of Muḥtāj, who as usual in expectation of his reward was awaiting his return from the hunting-ground. (See above, p. 46).
f 242b	"	1687	'Amr b. Laylā, the Ṣaffārid, tells Ja'far b. Muḥammad az-Zuburī(?), a favourite of his, the story of his penury in his early days in connection with his outrageous murder of Ishāq, the gardener, who had once beaten him cruelly for robbing fruit, bread, and curds from the garden where he was camping; but he bitterly resents the suggestion that he should acknowledge his indebtedness to the butcher, who gave him sustenance and employed him as a shepherd. (See above, p. 46).

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f 243a	f 263a	1688	al-Hajjáj inhumanly orders the assassination of 'Abdu'r-Rahman Awzá'í, an old boon-companion of 'Abdu'llah b. Zubayr, for showing grief when reminded of his early friendship with him. The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric. Part III, Chapter XIV = LXIV: On the Contemptibility of Meanness and Vileness and stories of Ignoble Persons.
f 243b- f 244a	f 263b	1689	Introduction dealing with the contrast of high and low-minded persons, illustrated with verses. Al-Ma'mún, shocked at the meanness of his eldest son, 'Abbás, in ordering his agent to buy for him a beet for half a <i>dirham</i> , repudiates him and appoints his brother al-Mu'tasim as his successor in the Caliphate.
f 244a	"	1690	al-Ma'mún chooses Isháq al-Mawṣilí as tutor to 'Alí b. Hishám b. Šálih, but is disappointed in the end at the mean conduct of 'Alí towards his venerable preceptor.
f 245a	f 264a	1691	At the request of a disciple, the Shaykh Bá Yazíd of Bisṭám sends a dervish to bless a wedding-feast, but the dervish returns annoyed, because the host meanly estimated his blessing in terms of money. (The <i>Maqámát-i-Shaykh Bá Yazíd Bisṭámí</i> as the source.)
"	"	1692	Di'bil-i-Khuzá'í's personal account of Sahl's (?) meanness, and Sahl's insistence on eating the cock's head, which was missing in the dish. (related by al-Jāhiz).
f 245b	f 264b	1693	Bahrám Gúr disqualifies a very wise and capable man of his day from holding the office of minister, since he showed greediness at table.
"	"	1694	'Abdu'llah b. Muḥammad (?) of Baṣra complains of the meanness of Sahl b. Nu'aym, the governor of the town, before Yaḥyá the Barmecide, who dismisses and disgraces him. (The <i>Akhbār-i-Bardmika</i> as the source, see above, p. 39).
f 246a	f 264b	1695	Faḍl b. Mu'adh (?), the ruler of Khurasán, laughs at the misery of the famine-stricken people of Nishápúr when they ask him to supply them with corn from his granary, but expires the same night through the sticking of a morsel in his throat.
f 246b	f 265a	1696	Abú Sahl Zawzaní, the Wazír of the Sultan Mas'úd of Ghazna, enforces confiscation against the weighty opposition of Abu Naṣr Mushkání and Khwája Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Maymandí, his colleagues, and causes serious troubles in the state. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Násiri</i> as the source, see above, pp. 62, 63—4). The chapter ends with a note concerning the mild policy adopted by the Wazír after the surrender of the fort of Bhakkar and the defeat of Malik Násiru'd-Dín Qabácha. Part III, Chapter XV = LXV: On the Contemptibility of Extravagance and Prodigality.
f 247b- f 248a	f 265b	1697	Introduction. The via media advocated by the Prophet. A story related before the Caliph al-Ma'mún of the advice of a dying father to his prodigal son to commit suicide rather than disgrace himself after having

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			squandered all his inheritance, and how the rope which he had suspended for this purpose led him to a hidden treasure.
f 248a	f 266a	1698	'Abqasī, the poet, relates the story of the calamitous condition of the son of a rich merchant through vice, and of the recovery of his former prosperity through good luck. (<i>T. F. S.</i> as the source).
f 249a	f 266b	1699	Hujjat b. al-Ajlāh ¹⁾ , reduced to extreme poverty, regains his position through a rich inheritance.
f 249b	"	1700	The story of a prodigal prince, who wasted all his wealth on false friends; they deserted him in the hour of need, and once falsely accused him of stealing a piece of flesh, and refused to acknowledge his plea of innocence, but, when he regained prosperity, believed in him blindly about a highly improbable thing, namely, that ants bore holes in a stone.
f 250a	f 267a	1701	Awḥadu'd-Dīn, the son of the ruler of Mihna or Mayhana, prosecutes his early studies in Nishāpūr, but after his father's death returns to Mihna, squanders his inheritance and becomes poor.
"	"	1702	Mu'āwiya sends a purse of gold to 'Urwa b. Udhayna, the poet, lest he might write a lampoon on him, upon which 'Urwa reminds him of his verse about the destined daily bread. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr.
			Part III, Chapter XVI = LXVI: On the Contemptibility of Dishonesty and Misappropriation.
f 250b— f 251a	f 267b	1703	Introduction. The shepherd who implored his master to sell pure milk, and his witty reply when the flock was swept away by a flood.
f 251a	"	1704	When Rāst-rawish, the Wazīr, is ruining the state by his extortions, Gushtāsp, warned by the example of a shepherd who hanged his treacherous dog, takes the administration into his own hands and kills the Wazīr. (<i>Cf. N. S. N.</i> , pp. 19—22).
f 251b	"	1705	The Imām Abū Ḥanīfa's clever device to recover the money of a poor pilgrim from a dishonest trustee.
f 252a	f 268a	1706	The Shaykh Abu'l-Mu'ayyad's (?) intercession on behalf of Muḥammad Múydúz, who was accused of embezzling the money of his master Sunbul, the late treasurer of the Sultan Mas'úd; and the Sultan Bahrámsháh's story of Núshírwán's visit in disguise to the garden of a person who was famed for honesty, hospitality and piety, resulting in his repentance and in the real beginning of the era of his justice. The chapter ends with a glorious panegyric on the illustrious monarch and his Wazīr.
			Part III, Chapter XVII = LXVII: On the Contemptibility of Licentiousness and Misconduct.
f 253a	f 268b	1707	Introduction dealing with the evils of sexual licence. Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'llah [al-Khujistání] abducts the wife of Shírzád, one of his retinue, while 'Ayyāsh [or 'Abbás] al-Qaṭṭán plunders Nishāpūr and carries off

¹⁾ The person meant is probably Uḥayya ibn'u'l-Julāh (*Kāmil*, ed. Wright, p. 466, l. 5).

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f 254a	f 269b	1708	his mother; at last his criminal career is brought to an end through the invocation of the holy Shaykh Abu 'Uthman al-Hirí. The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Khurasán</i> as the source, see above, p. 45).
f 254b	"	1709	Abu'l-Faḍl, the famous secretary of Nishápúr, relates the story of the misconduct of Abu'l-Qásim Bídár at-Ṭabarí with the wife of Muḥammad b. Zayd 'Alawí of Ṭabaristan, and of the swift retribution which fell on them.
f 255a	f 270a	1710	'Abdu'l-Karím Fáryábí relates the story of the misconduct of Abu'l-Bashar with the wife of an Indian fellow-traveller, called Sanku (?), and the dire fate of the wicked pair.
f 255b	"	1711	The illegal connection of Salm with Rabáb, and the dreadful vengeance of Khidásh on the lewd pair. (The <i>Kitáb-i-Majma' i'l-Amthal</i> as the source).
			The Devil's temptation of Barṣa, the hermit, and his making him an infidel, is cited in connection with the explanation of the Verse (<i>Qur'án</i> , LIX, 16). (See above, p. 26, ll. 22—6).
			The chapter ends with a few lines on the manifestation of the glory of the Creator in making his patron the champion of the Faith.
			Part III, Chapter XVIII = LXVIII: On the Contemptibility of Ingratitude and stories of Persons who were punished for it.
f 256b	f 270b— f 271a	1712	Introduction on ingratitude, illustrated a quatrain from the author himself. The famous Abú Bakr [Muḥammad b. 'Abbas] al-Khwárazmí ungratefully leaves the court of the Šāhib Ismá'íl b. 'Abbád.
f 257a	"	1713	How Ṭáhir-i-Dhu'l-Yamínayn contrived to get the governorship of Khurasán, and how he betrayed al-Ma'mún and died a mysterious death.
f 257b	f 271b	1714	The ungrateful 'Awḍ, who enjoyed the protection of a money-broker of Kúfa in the days of the suppression of the Khárijites by Muṣ'ab b. Zubayr, brings a false charge against him in the time of al-Ḥajjáj, which leads to his own ruin.
f 258a	"	1715	Maslama b. 'Awf raises the standard of revolt against his benefactor, 'Amr b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, and is killed in the encounter.
"	"	1716	'Amr b. Layl is sent in a cage to Baghdád by the Sámánid ruler, Ismá'íl, at the order of the Caliph, al-Mu'taḍhid.
"	"	1717	Bahrám Chúbín's ingratitude, and his miserable life and the old woman's poor entertainment.
f 258b	f 272a	1718	The revolt of Afshín in the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, his capture along with his Sámánid ally, Aḥmad b. Naṣr, the historic trial and his execution.
f 259a	f 272b	1719	The fate of Ṭughril, the usurper, and the coronation of Farrukhzád. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Yamíní</i> as the source, see above, pp. 60—2).
f 260a	"	1720	[Malik Ikhtiyáru'd-Dín] Dawlatsháh [Balká b. Ḥusámu'd-Dín 'Awadh Khajj]s revolt against Iltutmish. (A contemporary event that happened in 628 A. H. It marks the latest limit of the compilation, see above, p. 20).
			The conclusion of this chapter is of contemporary interest, and ends with an encomium on the Wazír.

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			Part III, Chapter XIX = LXIX: On the Contemptibility of Tale-bearing and Spying.
f 261a	f 273b	1721	Introduction illustrated by verses of the <i>Qur'dn</i> . A citizen invites a military chief and entertains him with a royal dish, forbidden to the public; the chief reports the matter to the Kisrá, whereupon the Persian king severely chastises him for his ingratitude and tale-bearing. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam</i> as the source, see above, pp. 55—6).
"	"	1722	A malicious slave creates a disaster by setting his master and his master's wife against each other by devilish reports.
f 261b	f 274a	1723	The Caliph al-Mu'tadhid warns a tale-bearer of the consequences, if his report proved to be false, and chastises him for neglecting his obligations to his neighbour.
f 262a	"	1724	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán's counsel to his favourite Qabísa: never to tell lies, never to flatter him, and never to impeach others in his presence.
"	"	1725	al-Mu'tasim curses a secret reporter for bringing to his notice the legacy left by a chief of the army.
"	"	1726	A spy returns disappointed from the court of 'Abdu'l-Malik, after hearing his warning to the tale-bearers.
f 262b	"	1727	al-'Attábi, the poet, is accused of heresy (<i>I'tisál</i>), and is brought before the Caliph Hárún; Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, intercedes and restores him to the favour of the Caliph, and punishes the false reporter. (See Ibn Khallikán (Wust.), Biog. No. 538, for the verses cited).
"	f 274b	1728	Túmán (?), the son of a slave, gets into the favour of the Amír 'Abdu'r-Rashíd of Ghazna, and terrorises the people by espionage; Khwāja Abú Ṭáhir Ḥusayn is sent to India for investigation, and on his report to the Ṣáhib-i-Díwán Abu'l-Fadhl Bayhaqí, Túmán is dismissed, but later on again comes into power and ruins the whole state, which ultimately leads to the murder of the Amír and rebellion in the country. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Nasiri</i> as the source, see above, pp. 62—3).
f 263b	f 275a	1729	Jamál, the Pársá, (or pious) persuades the Qādihí Muḥammad Gardízi to impeach Ḥusámu'd-Dín Aghlabak for extortion, upon which Abú Sa'd al-Junaydí Nizámu'l-Mulk, the Wazír of Iltutmish, appoints Abú Bakr 'Imádu'l-Mulk Sharafu'd-Dín, the general, to investigate the affairs of the people of Miyána, and when the charges were proved false, the mischievous Qādihí and the slanderous Jamál were publicly disgraced. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the illustrious Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XX = LXX: On the Contemptibility of Hastiness and the Advantages of Slowness.
f 264a	f 275	1730	Introduction. The life-story of Rúzbih and Bihruz, the sons of the hasty Jewel-merchant. (Cf. <i>Bakhtiyár-náma</i> , pp. 93—107; also above, pp. 74—6).
f 265b	f 276a	1731	The hasty prince of Aleppo, and his anxiety to marry the daughter of the king of Egypt; his precipitate action results in a calamity just before the marriage. (Cf. <i>Bakhtiyár-náma</i> , pp. 33—45; also above, pp. 74—6).

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f 266b	f 276b	1732	The tale of the Ráy of India and the four brothers that guarded the throne, one of whom was suspected of misbehaviour, while he was trying to save the sleeping queen from a snake.
f 267a	"	1733	The tale of another brother, in connection with the previous story, about the king who unwisely killed the hawk that prevented him from drinking a poisoned cup.
f 267b	f 277a	1734	Another tale, in the same connection, about the king who killed the weasel that saved the life of his son from the fangs of the serpent. (Tales of Indian origin).
f 268a	"	1735	'Abdu'r-Rahmán Khál from personal motives falsely accuses a sage of Herat of idolatry; the Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna warns him of the dreadful consequences, upon which the accuser confesses his guilt. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> , p. 120; also above, p. 82). The chapter ends with a panegyric as usual.
Part III, Chapter XXI = LXXI: On Irreligious and Unprincipled persons.			
f 268b	f 277b	1736	Introduction. Why Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Músá (?) refused to accept invitations and refrained from attending funeral processions. The narrative of his ill-luck. (The <i>Kutúb-l-Faraj ba'da 'sh-Shidda</i> of at-Tanúkhí as the source, see above, pp. 90—94).
f 269b	f 278a	1737	'Abdu'l-Qays (?) (in <i>Faraj</i> Abú'l-Qasim 'Abdu'llah b. Muḥammad ibnu'l-Ḥusayn al-'Abqasí), the poet, relates his encounter with Muqbil, his father's slave, and the gang of robbers from whose clutches he was accidentally saved through the protection of the leader of the gang. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> II, viii, p. 57—60).
f 270a	f 278b	1738	The advice of Nu'mán b. at-Turáb al-'Abdí to his three sons; Sa'íd, one of them, tests his father's experience in regard to false friends, and is convinced of its truth.
f 271a	f 279a	1739	The story of the homicide-hermit, and the lucky escape of a victim, a man of the army, from the dungeon of the wicked hermit. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> II, viii, pp. 56—7).
f 271b	"	1740	The perilous adventure of a servant of Muḥammad b. Sulayman Háshimí, who accidentally saves a woman from the dark designs of a villain. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> II, viii, pp. 60—1).
f 272a	f 279b	1741	A personal anecdote of the author of the <i>Faraj ba'da 'sh-Shidda</i> , the Qádhí Abú 'Alí Muḥassin at-Tanúkhí, about the loss which he suffered at the hands of an ungrateful wretch, named Abú 'Alí aṣ-Ṣúlf for a very trifling grievance. The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazír.
Part III, Chapter XXII = LXXII: On Ingenious and Intelligent women.			
f 273	f 280a	1742	Introduction, showing the superiority of some women to men. Ásiya, the virtuous wife of Pharaoh, demands the fulfilment of the contract

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			which her proud husband after the loss of his wager desired to break wantonly; and insists on his walking round his palace naked, so that the white spot of leprosy on his back is discovered.
ff 273	f 280b	1743	An estimation of Dhu'n-Nún of Egypt by a Byzantine girl, and her three piquant remarks.
f 274a	"	1744	Ziyád b. Abíhi, while passing by the mansion of Nu'mán b. Mundhir, the famous king of Híra, visits his daughter and asks the definition of „World”; at which she wisely sums up the phenomena of the world by comparing the by-gone days of the glory of her family with their present pitiable condition.
"	"	1745	The bold answer whereby Sayyida, the mother of Majdu'd-Dawla, succeeded in preventing Sultan Maḥmúd from attacking her capital, Rayy'. (Cf. <i>Qábús-náma</i> , pp. 128—9, see above, pp. 95—6).
"	"	1746	Búrán divines the secret of al-Ma'mún about the advice of the famous court-physician, Bukht-Yishú', concerning abstinence from women.
f 274b	f 281a	1747	Lubába or Lubána, a favourite slave-girl of al-Amin, advises him to make a compromise with his brother al-Ma'mún.
f 275a	"	1748	Muhannada, a slave-girl, and her clever suggestion to the Caliph al-Manṣúr by which she seduced him.
"	"	1749	Masrúra, the slave-girl, and her seductive conversation with the Caliph Hárún.
"	"	1750	Dalla, the cunning woman, outwitted by the wife of a cloth-merchant.
f 275b	"	1751	The witty replies of an Abyssinian girl to the Caliph Hárún.
"	f 281b	1752	The jests which passed between Muhallab b. Abí Šufra and a singing-girl, Badá'í'a.
"	"	1753	al-Aṣma'í and a beautiful woman in a fruit shop interchange witty remarks by citing Verses from the <i>Qur'án</i> .
"	"	1754	an-Náṭiff's favourite girl recites a touching Verse (<i>Qur'án</i> , XXXVIII, 32) in her melodious voice about the brother who possessed 99 cows, and the other who had only one; upon which the Caliph Hárún is moved and restores her to her lamenting owner.
"	"	1755	The witty remark of an old woman to one of the retainers of the Caliph al-Ma'mún, when he had presented her request to the Caliph.
f 276a	"	1756	The tactful congratulatory address of Zubayda, the mother of al-Amin, after al-Ma'mún's succession to the Caliphate.
"	"	1757	The mystery of the casket and its precious contents, which the mother of Ja'far, the Barmecide, so carefully guarded.
f 276b	f 282a	1758	A pointed reply of a woman of the tribe of Ṭayy about the uniqueness of Hátim in her tribe, in allusion to the Caliph al-Mahdí. The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part III, Chapter XXIII = LXXIII: On Chaste and Virtuous Women.
"	"	1759	Introduction. The three kinds of women described, in reply to a man who had already consulted ninety-nine persons on the choice of a wife, by one of the Imám Abú Ḥanífa's colleagues who was feigning madness.

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f 277 ^a	f 282 ^b	1760	David, the prophet, explains the enigmatic advice of his young son about the choice of a wife.
"	"	1761	The story of the divorce of a virtuous wife who was very obedient to her husband, even though she did not like him at all.
f 277 ^b	"	1762	The pathetic contentment of a beautiful woman, and her submissiveness towards her ugly and cruel husband.
"	"	1763	al-Aṣma'ī's surprise at the incongruous union of a beautiful and eloquent woman with an ugly Bedouin.
f 278 ^a	f 283 ^a	1764	The wife of a follower of the Prophet is promised the divine reward on account of her having acquiesced in the second marriage of her husband.
"	"	1765	The saintly woman Rābi'a warns indirectly a cruel governor, appointed by al-Ḥajjāj in Baṣra, of the inevitable retribution.
"	"	1766	The ordeals which Marḥūma, the virtuous and the fair, had to suffer on account of her fatal beauty and extreme purity.
f 279 ^a	f 283 ^b	1767	A noble of Baṣra cowed by the bold remark of the pious wife of his gardener.
"	"	1768	The chaste daughter of an 'Alawī contrives her own death at the hands of Burqu'ī(?), the chief of the invading band of the Zangīs, rather than face ignominy.
f 279 ^b	"	1769	An account of a virtuous woman in the days of the mother of Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Malik(?).
"	"	1770	A chaste woman rebukes an 'Alawī who wanted to commit sin.
"	f 284 ^a	1771	A pious woman vindicates her honour by offering her eyeballs to 'Utba b. Ghulām, which leads to his penitence.
"	"	1772	The conviction of a tailor about the chastity of wives.
f 280 ^a	"	1773	The unshaken constancy of Nā'ila to the Caliph 'Uḥmān. The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazīr.
Part III, Chapter XXIV = LXXIV: On Unchaste and Impious Women.			
f 280 ^b — f 281 ^a	f 284 ^b	1774	Introduction, illustrated by a few couplets on the unreliability of women. Shaiq of Balkh's bad opinion of the women of his city proves to be too true.
f 281 ^a	f 285 ^a	1775	The Prophet relates the story of a woman's faithlessness to her devoted husband and the miraculous intervention of Christ.
f 281 ^b	"	1776	A person rashly marries the daughter of a lewd woman, but divorces her when she tells her observation on a camel's habit of closely following its dam.
f 282 ^a	f 285 ^b	1777	Ba'am-i-Bā'ūr is persuaded by his wife to use the power of the "Great Name" against Moses, which leads to his damnation.
f 282 ^b	f 286 ^a	1778	The story of the enmity of the daughter of a Persian king towards the Wazīr, and the conspiracy of the murderous wives against their husbands, and the wholesale extirpation of those women.
f 283 ^a	"	1779	The callous woman who inhumanly suggested to her new husband to replace the stolen corpse of a thief, publicly exhibited on the gallows,

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			with the body of her dead husband; and his plea to her, on his death-bed, to spare his beard after his death.
f 283b	f 286b	1780	An Israelite sage wastes three chances of effective prayer on his faithless wife. Story related in connection with the revelation of the Verse of the <i>Qu'ran</i> (vii, 174).
"	"	1781	Ishāq al-Mawṣilī delivers a distressed youth from the clutches of an ill-natured woman through the generosity of Ja'far b. Yaḥyá, the Barmecide.
f 284b	f 287a	1782	The story of the criminal career of the daughter of a Judge and teacher of Isfará'in; and how she atoned for her past sins by making pilgrimages on foot. The chapter ends with a few words invoking the help of God.
			Part III, Chapter XXV = LXXV: On the Cunning of Women and the Stories of their Wives.
f 285b— f 286a	f 287b— f 288a	1783	Introduction dealing with the craftiness of women; reference is made to the <i>Sindbād-nāma</i> , and <i>Bakhtiyār-nāma</i> . How the artful sister of Qúbāid contrived the release of her brother from the prison in which he was put by the people.
f 286a	"	1784	The wife of a trader of Ahwaz plays a trick upon her husband, and compels him to divorce his other wife in Baṣra.
f 286b	"	1785	The wife of an Indian athlete, and her illicit connection with a Brahmin.
f 287b	f 288b	1786	The cunning of the wife of a goldsmith's son, and a similar story of the faithlessness of the wife of the Ráy of India, and her intercourse with the elephant-keeper.
f 288b	f 289b	1787	How a person who used to study books on the cunning of women is astounded at the mischievous activities of a woman who convinces him that there is no limit to the wiles of her sex. (The <i>Ḥiyalu'n-Nisá'</i> (?) is referred to).
f 289a	"	1788	A crafty woman makes a tool of her husband who jealously guarded her.
f 289b	f 290a	1789	A clever woman shows her husband the futility of keeping women in strict privacy, as the safeguarding of chastity depends on women alone. (Again at the end of this chapter the <i>Sindbād-nāma</i> and <i>Kalila wa-Dinnna</i> are mentioned as the popular books on this topic). The chapter ends with a short panegyric on the Wazīr, and with it Part III also.

A Complete Table of Contents of the Jawāmi' u'l-Hikāyat.

Part IV (Comprising 25 chapters, LXXVI—C):

(On the Description of Strange Occurrences, the Wonders of Seas and Lands, the Temperament of Animals and the Facetiousness of Eminent Persons.

Part IV, Chapter I = LXXVI: On the Advantages of the Service of Kings.

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			Introduction to the Fourth Part: doxology, a short note on his patron under whose auspices the Fourth Part is also completed, plan of the compilation and a list of the headings of the 25 chapters in the Fourth Part.
			A short introduction to the first chapter. (Missing from all the old Mss., but supplied from H. f 219b = G. f 325b = L. f 448b).
		1790	Núshírwán patronizes a baseborn man, and when questioned replies that culture is the excellence of man.
		1791	Two couplets in Arabic illustrating the advantages of the service of kings.
f 4b	f 290b	1792	The Shaykh Majdu'd-Dín (Sharaf b. al-Mu'ayyad) al-Baghdádí's advice to Shihábu'd-Dín (Abú Sa'd b. 'Umar) al-Khaywaqí about the service of kings in general (but in this case it applies to the service of 'Alá'ud-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh), with reference to the advice of Abu'l-Ḥasan Kharáqání to Abú Sa'd b. Abi'l-Khayr on a similar occasion.
"	"	1793	The intercession of Aḥmad b. Abi' Dá'úd on behalf of his friend, Abu Dulaf al-'Ijlí, in the presence of al-Mu'taṣim, who had handed over Abú Dulaf to Afshín, his deadly enemy. (Translated from at-Tanúkhí's <i>Faraj</i> , see pt. II, ch. viii, pp. 67—9).
f 5b	f 291b	1794	The great consideration of the Caliph Hárún for, and his patronage of, the Imám Abú Yúsuf, and the preparation of a special daily dish for him. (<i>Ta'rikh-i-Bdál</i> or <i>Tdsi</i> or <i>Bdwl</i> as the source(?)).
f 6a	"	1795	Khálid-i-Naṣr, one of the governors appointed by al-Mu'taṣim in Egypt, is accused of peculation; Aḥmad b. Abi' Dá'úd again intercedes on his behalf and releases him.
"	"	1796	Ibn Harma, the poet, relates an instance of the generosity of 'Abdu'l-Wahid b. Sulaymán b. 'Abdu'l-Malik b. Marwán in justification of his ode in praise of him.
f 6b	f 292a	1797	How a capable secretary, who was out of work, sought the patronage and won the favour of 'Adhdu'd-Dawla.
f 7a	"	1798	The reflections of 'Abbád, the secretary, after his dismissal, and his regret for the loss of patronage.
			The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazír.

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			Part IV, Chapter II = LXXVII: On the Disadvantages of the Service of Kings.
f 7a	f 292b	1799	Introduction on the instability of the favour of rulers and the risks that one has to confront in their service. How the Caliph Harun ignored his pledges to the Barmecides and disgraced them publicly; and an account of one of the pledges which Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, wore on his neck as an amulet.
f 7b	"	1800	The Caliph al-Hādī wants to avoid the company of his old friend, 'Alī Muqátil, after he rose to the Caliphate.
"	f 293a	1801	Parwíz's reproach to Bahráw Chúbín for punishing a servant; and his ironical suggestion to sheathe two swords in one case. (Cf. <i>N. S. N.</i> , p. 76; see above, p. 81).
f 8a	"	1802	The admonishment of Sultan Maḥmúd to his brother, Amír Naṣr, on an occasion of similar disregard of the royal authority: Maḥmud orders the royal drums to be beaten at the palace of his brother. (Anec. repeated, I, ix, 494). (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Yamini</i> mentioned as the source, see above, pp. 61, 63).
"	"	1803	Intrigues at the court of Walíd II against 'Turaylı b. Ismá'íl ath-Thaqafī, the poet-laureate of the Caliph.
"	"	1804	Núshírwán punishes his impertinent courtiers when he assumes the royal dignity. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Mulúk-i-'Ajam</i> as the source, see above, p. 56).
f 8b	f 293b	1805	Núshírwán punishes a courtier for the crimes of his protégé, a fugitive governor. (Cf. I, ix, 503).
"	"	1806	'Abdu'llah b. Málik al-Khuzá'í, once suspected of treason, could hardly commend himself to the favour of the Caliph Hárún.
f 9a	"	1807	ar-Rabf, the Chamberlain, is reproached by the Caliph al-Manṣúr for presenting a request at an inauspicious hour.
"	f 294a	1808	The treachery of the Caliph al-Manṣúr towards, and his assassination of, his benefactor and the founder of the 'Abbásid Caliphate, Abú Muslim al-Khurásání. (Cf. I, ix, 485). The chapter concludes with a remark on the merits and defects of the service of kings and a panegyric on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter III = LXXVIII: On Fear and Hope.
f 9b- f 10a	f 294	1809	Introduction on Hope and Fear, and Trust in God. The merits and defects of Wealth, Wisdom and Hope are represented in an allegory of the three suitors.
f 10a	f 294b	1810	al-Amín's efforts to secure the help of 'Abdu'llah b. Táhir, the Ambidexter, and his grave warning to beware of the fate of the past benefactors of the 'Abbásids.
"	"	1811	ابو الول (?), the poet, writes a corrosive satire on Fadhl b. Yaḥyá, the Barmecide, but confident of his forgiveness and generosity applies for his mercy and help, while in want.
f 10b	f 295a	1812	Núshírwán's person immune from attack, on account of his protection and

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			safeguarding of his people. (The <i>Akhbar-i-Muluk-i-'Ajam</i> is referred to, see above, p. 60).
f 10b	f 295a	1813	Muhammad b. Dá'úd b. al-Jarráḥ and the Qaḥḥīs Abu'l-Muḥanna Aḥmad b. Ya'qúb, and Abú 'Umar Muhammad b. Yusuf Abu Ishāq are arrested in connection with the conspiracy of Ibnu'l-Mu'tazz; the first two are executed for treason, while the last-named is spared through the intercession of the Wazír Ibnu'l-Furát, fined and released; and during the crisis Abú 'Umar's hair turns grey from fear of death. (See <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, ch. v, pp. 120—2, also above, p. 93, para. 2, and <i>n.</i> 5).
f 11a	f 295b	1814	A similar change in the colour of the hair of a cleaner of the palace of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, who by accident lingered in the <i>ḥaram</i> and was overtaken by the terror of death. (See <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, ch. v, pp. 122—4).
f 11b	"	1815	Abú 'Alí-i-Náqid, the officer in charge of the food of the prisoners in the time of al-Muqtadir, relates the story of a prisoner, who was condemned for life without having committed any crime, and was expecting deliverance from God; and how the Chief of the Baghdád Police, Názúk, was murdered, and how the mob released all the prisoners. (See <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. I, ch. v, pp. 124—5; cf. also, the <i>Eclipse</i> , vol. I, p. 192).
f 12a	f 296a	1816	al-Faraj ar-Rukhkhají, imprisoned by order of the Caliph al-Ma'mun, falls into despair; but trusts in God, dreams of release, and is restored the next day to his official position as the governor of Fárs and Ahwáz. The chapter concludes with a short note about the deliverance which is sure to follow after sufferings; and an encomium on the Wazír.
			Part IV, Chapter IV = LXXIX: On the Efficacy of Prayer and on Persons who obtained Deliverance through the Blessings of their Devotion.
f 12b	f 296b	1817	Introduction on the efficacy of invocation. Abú Ḥimyar saves a cobra, but when the cobra turns against him invokes the protection of the Almighty and at last succeeds in killing it. (<i>T. F. S.</i> as the source).
f 13a	f 297a	1818	Yaḥyá b. Khálid-i-Azraq (?) prays for the prosperity of Murúr-i-Asáfi (?), after which he is restored to happiness.
"	"	1819	The Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Mas'úd's supplication to the Almighty to stop the incessant rainfall in Ghazna.
f 13b	"	1820	A petitioner, disappointed by Fadhl b. Rabf, appeals to God for redress, upon which the Caliph Hárún orders the Wazír to attend to the wants of the supplicant personally.
"	"	1821	Khidhr, the mysterious saint, informs al-Manṣúr of the granting of his prayer, and his accession to the Caliphate.
f 14a	f 297b	1822	A theologian's opinion about the acceptance of prayers offered under propitious circumstances and with due observance of the zodiacal constellations. (The philosopher al-Kindí's treatise on prayer is referred to).
f 14b	f 298a	1823	Ḥasan b. Zayd al-'Alawí of Ṭabaristán incurs the displeasure of Heaven by praying at an inauspicious hour, and consequently is afflicted with a hurricane.
"	"	1824	An extraordinary instance of the efficacy of sincere invocation in cases

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			of utter despair. The miraculous appearance of a luminous star, witnessed by seafarers, when their boat was overtaken by a severe storm and all hopes of safety were given up. (Related by the author himself).
f 14b	f 298a	1825	The Caliph 'Umar and 'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, offer their humble prayers for rain in the year of the great drought and famine in Arabia. (The <i>Gharīb u'l-Hadīth</i> as the source(?)).
f 15a	f 298b	1826	Junayd, the great saint of Baghdād, prays to God for the return of the son of an old woman. The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr.
			Part IV, Chapter V = LXXX: On Memorable, Efficacious and Traditional Prayers.
f 15b	f 298b- f 299a	1827	Introduction on the real meaning of prayer. al-Ḥajjāj, being reproached by Ḥasan of Baṣra for erecting stately palaces and for tyranny, convicts him and resolves on his execution; but when Ḥasan of Baṣra utters a few words in the form of an appeal to the Almighty, al-Ḥajjāj's wrath is turned into complete submission. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, iii, p. 46).
f 16a	"	1828	Ismā'īl b. Umayya, when arrested by order of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, repeats a formula of prayer written on a wall, and is rescued. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, iii, p. 46).
"	"	1829	'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib] advises his cousin to repeat a prayer, whilst he was going to face the governor of Madīna, in consequence of a summons sent to him by Walīd b. 'Abdu'l-Malik; he does so and is set free. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, iii, p. 47).
"	"	1830	'Abdu'llah b. Aḥmad of Baṣra cured of a chronic disease through the formula of prayer adopted by Abū Muḥammad Tustarī.
"	f 299b	1831	Mūsā b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq's claims to the Caliphate as the nearest descendant of the Prophet against those of Hārūn, and his curse which ended in the death of al-Hādī, who had repudiated him for the sake of Hārūn.
f 16b	"	1832	The Caliph 'Alī teaches a Bedouin the correct method of commemorating God.
f 17a	f 300a	1833	The Angel of Death teaches the Prophet Ya'qūb a formula of prayer.
"	"	1834	The ordeals and trials of the Prophet Ya'qūb, and his patience and submission to the will of God.
f 17b	"	1835	Yūsuf the Prophet's prayer in the Well in Kan'ān. (The <i>Jāmi' u'l-Kabīr fī'l-Tafsīr</i> of the Imām Nāṣir Ghazālī(?) and The <i>Tayṣir fī'l-Tafsīr</i> of Najmud-Dīn 'Umar an-Nasafī as the source), see above, p. 65.
"	"	1836	Jibrā'īl, the Messenger of God, teaches Yūsuf the Prophet the method of self-composure and self-consolation.
"	f 300b	1837	The pious supplications of Abū Sa'īd Baqqāl and Ibrāhīm(?) during their imprisonment by al-Ḥajjāj, and their deliverance.
f 18a	"	1838	Abu's-Sarāyā's(?) mysterious encounter with his enemy, and how the latter was found dead after the utterance of a homily. The chapter concludes with a reference to the Ṣūfī saint Bāyazīd of Bisṭām and with the usual panegyric.

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			Part IV, Chapter VI = LXXXI: On propitious Omens and strange Occurrences.
f 18b	f 301a	1839	A prelude to the chapter, discussing the validity of omens, and their interpretation according to Islām. al-Mu'tadhid finds solace in the recitation of the <i>Qur'an</i> , while imprisoned by his father.
f 19a	f 301b	1840	Abū 'Alī b. Muqla takes a good omen from a few verses during his imprisonment in Fārs by order of al-Qāhir, and is rewarded soon after by the Caliph with the governorship of Fārs. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, iii, p. 55).
f 19b	f 302a	1841	Aḥmad b. Abī Khālid takes an omen from the <i>Qur'an</i> about the punishment of a slave-girl accused by his trusted servants of misconduct, and makes inquiries until he is convinced of her innocence and the wickedness of his servants. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, iii, p. 57). (Ibrāhīm [b.] 'Abbās Ṣulī relates this anecdote).
f 20a	f 302b	1842	How Aḥmad-i-Murīd (?) was appointed to the governorship of Syria by the Caliph al-Mutawakkil.
f 20b	"	1843	The fruitless attempts of al-Hādī to deprive Hārūn of his right to the succession, and his threats to Yaḥyā b. Khālid, the Barmecide, on which occasion the poet Bashshār consoles him, and puts a happy interpretation on the breaking of a ring. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, iii, p. 61).
f 21a	f 303a	1844	The fate of al-Mutawakkil's murderers; and the ominous portent of the horoscopic globe, which indicated the very sign that led to the nemesis that overtook the parricide Shīrūya.
"	"	1845	Tāhir-i-Dhu'l-Yamīnayn takes a good omen from his torn sleeve, and defeats his foe 'Alī b. 'Isā b. Māhān. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, iii, p. 60).
"	"	1846	A Wazīr takes an augury from a couplet.
f 21b	"	1847	'Abdu'llah b. Mu'tazz recites a few lines in prison and takes an augury, and is released by al-Muktafi. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, v, p. 89).
			The chapter ends with the praise of the Wazīr.
			Part IV, Chapter VII = LXXXII: On the Stories of Persons who fell into the Whirlpool of Persecution and escaped through good Luck.
"	f 303b- f 304a		Introduction discussing the subject of deliverance after trials, and the fruits of patience, with an important note on the interesting work of the Qādī Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī, mentioning the Persian Translation of the above work by the author Muḥammad al-'Awfi himself, and also an account of the incorporation of the anecdotes from that translation into the present collection. (See above, pp. 14—18, 90—4).
f 22a	"	1848	A short account of the ordeals and sufferings of the ancient prophets, their admirable behaviour and the Divine rewards. (This is chiefly based on the first two chapters of <i>T. F. S.</i>).
"	"	1849	Armīyā (Jeremiah), the Prophet, is directed by God to relieve Dāniyāl from the horrible dungeon of Nebuchadnezzar. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> , I, i, pp. 17—18).
"	"	1850	The story of the hundred belts of Ibnu'l-Jassās, the jeweller, as related to the Caliph al-Muqtadir. (Cf. Index to the <i>Eclipse</i> , p. 69, also <i>T. F. S.</i> , I, vi, pp. 113—4).

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f 22b	f 304a	1851	Qays b. Qaysabat (Qaysaba) b. Kulthūm as-Sakūnī, a chieftain of Yaman, is captured by the tribe of Banū-'Uqayl. Abū Ṭamahān, the poet, carries the news to the Sakūn; Qays b. Ma'dīkarib of Kinda and Jawn b. Mālik of Sakun make common cause and attack the Banū-'Uqayl, wreak vengeance and release their chief. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. I</i> , v, p. 130) ¹⁾ .
f 23a	f 305a	1852	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhir arrests Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, the 'Alawī pretender and sends him to the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, who confines him in a torture-cell, but the 'Alawī contrives to escape. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. I</i> , v, pp. 132—5).
f 23b	f 305b	1853	Returning from Pilgrimage in 233 A. H., Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd al-ḡ (?) meets a very eloquent and beautiful girl called Muhannāh (?), the daughter (?) of Haytham ash-Shaybānī, a contemporary of the Prophet, who was reduced to poverty; and commends her virtues to Mālik b. Ṭawq, who marries her and rewards him amply for the information about her. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. II</i> , vii, pp. 8—9).
f 24b	f 306a	1854	How Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Malik az-Zayyāt, the Wazīr of al-Mu'taṣim, rewards Mu'ammār-i-Baghdādī. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. II</i> , vii, p. 26—7).
f 25a	"	1855	The story of Abū Ja'far Hamadhānī and the pearl necklace.
	f 306b	1856	How Abū Ghālib, a secretary of Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm b. (Muṣ'ab) at-Ṭāhirī, goes into hiding and luckily finds a hidden treasure. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. II</i> , xii, pp. 147—8).
	"	1857	Aḥmad b. Masrūq, the governor of Ahwāz, relates a personal anecdote, as to how he obtained a ruby from an old woman, repaired his condition, and appeared before Faṭḥ b. Khāqān.
	f 307a	1858	'Abdu'llah of Tustar, the Amīr of Baṣra, relates the story of his early misfortunes. (Told on the authority of Abū 'Alī Muḥassin at-Tanūkhī, the author of the <i>Faraj</i>).
f 25a	"	1859	Quṭrabbul's prodigal neighbour relieved of distress through an unexpected inheritance. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. II</i> , vii, pp. 29—31). The chapter concludes with a note on the <i>Faraj</i> , and as usual ends with a eulogy.
Part IV, Chapter VIII = LXXXIII: On Persons who escaped from the clutches of Brigands.			
f 25b	f 307b	1860	Introduction. Di'bil of Khuzā'a, the poet, is rewarded by al-Ma'mūn on reciting the famous ode which he had composed in honour of 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Ridhā, and is released by the robbers who had waylaid him on the same ground. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. II</i> , xi, pp. 104—6).
f 26a	f 308a	1861	The story of a veteran traveller who had a very narrow escape from the clutches of the murderous owner of an inn in the forest of Ka'b.
f 26b	"	1862	How Ṣāfi or Darī, the servant of Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muq̄la, the Wazīr of the Caliph al-Muttaqī, cheated the leader of the bandits, by foisting on him a ring with a false gem as the signet of the Caliphs. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. II</i> , xi, pp. 109—110).
f 27a	f 308b	1863	Ṣārikh's encounter with a murderous villain. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> , II, xi, pp. 111—2).

¹⁾ In *Aghāni*, XI, 130—I, the name of the prisoner is Qaysaba b. Kulthūm.

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f 27a	f 308b	1864	The servant of Ibnu'd-Danānīrī at-Tammār al-Wāsiṭī relates the story of the theft of his purse while he was crossing the Tigris for Ubulla, and the strange experience of Abū Bakr al-Bughāsh, the organiser of the secret band of thieves, through whose favour he recovered his lost purse. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> II, xi, pp. 112—3).
f 28a	f 309a	1865	How Abū 'Alī Zaydī or Kurdī used to plunder the pilgrims, and his encounter with a bold youth from Shāsh, who routed his gang single-handed. After witnessing this feat Abū 'Alī deserted his band and renounced his calling. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> II, xi, pp. 117—8). The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr.
			Part IV, Chapter IX = LXXXIV: On Persons who escaped from the clutches of Wild Beasts.
f 28b	f 309b-f 310a	1866	Introduction. The Šūfī saint Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ thrown on a desolate shore takes a solemn oath not to eat the flesh of elephants in any case; consequently he is spared by the elephant that killed all his companions who had eaten its young. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> II, ix, p. 73; also <i>D. H. H.</i> II, p. 269, where a similar story is ascribed to Abū Abdu'llah al-Qalānisī).
f 29a	"	1867	A morsel, doled out daily by an old woman, protects her son from harm and saves his life from a tiger. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 74).
f 29b	"	1868	Presage of being killed by a wild beast, and the wonderful rescue of a person from a tiger. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 75).
"	f 310b	1869	The account of the adventure of a revenue inspector of Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Khalaf, the governor of Shīrāz appointed by the Wazīr Abū Muḥammad al-Muḥallabī, and the story of his mutilated hand, and the thrilling tiger-ride. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 75).
f 30b	f 311a	1870	The strange story of a monkey that was committing an unnatural act with a woman, and wanted to bribe a person who had detected the outrage. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 78—9).
"	"	1871	Another miraculous rescue of a fugitive slave called Ayyūb from the clutches of a tiger. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 79).
"	"	1872	Another clever rescue from a boar and a tiger.
f 31a	f 311b	1873	A champion "strong man" strangles an elephant by seizing upon the trunk of the animal. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 79—80).
"	"	1874	Another thrilling encounter with tigers. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 80).
f 31b	"	1875	A tiger rescues a debtor, who was kind to her cubs, from the cruel exaction of his creditor. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 81).
"	"	1876	The story of a dangerous snake in a garden in Dayr, and the family of wonderful snake-charmers. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 81—2).
f 32a	f 312a	1877	A paralysed person cured naturally by the stings of a scorpion. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 83).
"	"	1878	'Ubaydu'llah b. Muḥammad aṣ-Šūfī's escape from a cave near Sinjār. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 83—5).
f 32b	f 312b	1879	Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, an ally of Sayfu'd-Dawla, relates an account of a wonderful rescue of a child that was accidentally thrown into water and picked up by an eagle. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 85).

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f 32b	f 312b	1880	The life-story of an Egyptian who was called Ibnu't-Timsālī or the son of the crocodile. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 86).
f 33a	"	1881	The miraculous rescue of Abu'l Qāsim b. A'lam al-'Alawī al-Faylasūf from a tiger. The truth of the saying of the Prophet, "the flesh of the children of Fāṭima (may God be pleased with her) is immune from the devouring of beasts, and the one who is devoured by a beast is an impostor (not of the line of Fāṭima)" is also illustrated from the ordeal of the Imām 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Riḍhā and the false Zaynab. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 86).
"	f 313a	1882	How 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. al-Ḥasan al-Azdī, a merchant of Baṣra, was wondrously saved by weasels from a serpent. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 89).
"	"	1883	Another thrilling rescue of a person, who was surrounded by a tiger and a snake on either side. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 91).
"	"	1884	Another mysterious rescue of the Qadhī Abū Sā'ib from a wild beast while returning from a visit to the tomb of the Imām Ḥusayn b. 'Alī. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 92).
			The chapter ends as usual with a eulogy on the Wazīr.
			N.B. This chapter is entirely translated from at-Tanūkhī's <i>al-Faraj ba'ḍa'sh-Shidda</i> .
			Part IV, Chapter X = LXXXV: On Persons who fell into the Whirlpool of love and succumbed to it.
f 34a	f 313b- f 314a	1885	Introduction dealing with the various kinds of emotion, illustrated by the verses of Arabian poets. Explanation given by a philosopher about the fits of the love-stricken Wazīr, and the differentiation of the spiritual from the sensual affections.
f 34b	f 314a	1886	The ecstasy of 'Alī, the uncle of Aḥmad b. Sulaymān b. Wahb, in his love for a girl, and the attempt of Sulaymān b. Wahb to cure him of his infatuation.
f 35a	f 314b	1887	'Abdu'llah b. Ṭāhir, the ruler of Khurāsān, releases a prisoner, who begged for mercy and reminded him of the romance of his youth and of his beloved, in whose neighbourhood he lived.
"	"	1888	How Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. Ṭhābit, the Ṣūfī saint of Baghdād, fell in love with a beautiful girl and, failing to get her, devoted himself to the love of God and became a famous saint. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Baghdād</i> (?) as the source, see above, pp. 42—3).
f 35b	"	1889	al-Aṣma'ī pays a visit to the tribe of Banū 'Udhra and sees the pathetic longing of a youth for a girl of the family of his hosts and tries to bring about a happy union of the lovers, which results in the death of the youth. (The <i>Risālatu'l-Qushayriyya</i> as the source, see above, p. 70).
"	f 319a	1890	Mortality among the youth of the tribe of Banū 'Udhra owing to their amorous tendencies and the chastity of their girls.
f 36a	"	1891	The romantic union of Laylā and Majnūn.
"	f 319b	1892	Why Uways-i-Qarānī pulled out his teeth; the lesson of real hero-worship impressed on the minds of the Caliphs 'Umar and 'Alī when they met him.

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f 36a	f 319b	1893	The ecstatic condition of a youth who burnt himself while addressing his beloved and was unconscious of the fact.
"	"	1894	A shoe-maker's son plucks out his heart and sends it to the son of the prince whom he loved, in proof of his sincerity.
f 36b	f 315b	1895	Masrūr-i-Kabīr relates the story of a slave-girl who expired at the shocking news of the death of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā-i-Banī'l-'Abbās</i> as the source, see above, p. 48).
"	f 316a	1896	A captive of the Muslims in the early wars of the Prophet breathes his last, after remembering his beloved, who had also been made a captive along with the rest of the women of that tribe. (The <i>Kitabu'l-Ilaghāzī</i> of Muḥammad b. Ishāq as the source, see above, pp. 100—101).
"	"	1897	The story of the pathetic end of the extreme love of a young student in Balkh.
f 37a	f 316b	1898	A discourse on the exposition of the word " <i>Ishq</i> ". The chapter ends with a eulogy on the Wazīr.
			Part IV, Chapter XI = LXXXVI: On Persons who fell in the Whirlpool of Love and succeeded in it.
f 37b	"	1899	A short introduction. The infatuation of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Maymūn b. al-Afṣas, the Wazīr of the Caliph al-Muttaqī, for a girl-musician, and how the Caliph rewarded him with the offer of the girl and pacified him to his heart's content. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> II, xiii, pp. 149—151).
f 39a	f 317b	1900	The anguish of a youth of Baghdād at the loss of his favourite girl-musician, and the generosity of the Hāshimī who restored her to him. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 151—6).
f 41b	f 319b	1901	A notable of Baṣra, when reduced to poverty, sells his favourite slave-girl to the Amīr 'Umar b. 'Ubaydu'llah b. Mu'ammār at-Tamīmī; but the Amīr, seeing their lamentable condition and their deep affection for each other, reunites the lovers. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 156—7).
"	"	1902	Ja'far b. Yaḥyā, the Barmecide, goes in disguise to hear the music of a slave-girl who was being offered for sale, and witnessing the passionate attachment of the youth who owned her, at the recommendation of Ishāq-i-Mawṣilī restores him to prosperity and bestows his favour on him. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 157—160).
f 43a	f 320b	1903	'Abdu'llah b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib magnanimously offers the slave-girl whom he had bought from a youth of Mecca to her former owner, after hearing of their mutual love. Similarly 'Abdu's-Salām b. Abī Sulaymān, the client of Aslam, in the hope of a similar reward from the Āl-i-Ṭalḥa, asks for a girl whose sale was completed; but is disappointed. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 161—2).
"	f 321a	1904	Abū Ishāq al-Marwazī, the Shāfi'ī doctor and teacher's request to Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḥamid, the chief officer of the <i>Baytu'l-Māl</i> , on behalf of a student from Khurāsān, for the return of the slave-girl who had been purchased for him by one of his servants, and Abū Bakr's readiness in granting the petition. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 162—3).
f 44a		1905	Another version of the same story. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 163—4).

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f 44b	f 321a	1906	Ḥasan b. Sahl Qusṭās takes pity on a merchant who sold his slave-girl, and returns her to him. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 164—5).
f 45a	f 321b	1907	How Ishāq al-Mawṣilī won a beautiful musician-girl. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 165—7).
f 46a	f 322a	1908	Numayr b. Khalaf or ʿUbayd al-Hilālī relates the story of the romantic adventure of Bishr or Sīrīn b. ʿAbdu'llah called al-ʿAshtar, and the part of confidant which he played in helping him to enjoy the society of his beloved Jaydā. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 167—8).
f 46b	f 322b	1909	ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Hāshimī unconsciously pronounces a conditional divorce, and in distress asks the help of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, who consults a disciple of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, who releases him from the vow. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , p. 172).
f 47a		1910	The vow of the poet ʿImra'u'l-Qays before his marriage, and the girl who outwitted him and whom he married at last. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 176—7).
f 48a	f 323a	1911	The life-story of the famous lovers, Qays and Lubnā, and the kindness of the Imām Ḥusayn towards them. (Cf. <i>T. F. S. ibid.</i> , pp. 177—181). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazīr. N.B. This chapter is entirely taken from at-Tanūkhī's <i>al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda</i> II, xiii, pp. 151—181; consequently most of the proper names have been corrected, while others are supplied from it.
			Part IV, Chapter XII = LXXXVII: On Persons who fell into the Abyss of Perdition and escaped in the end.
f 49b- f 50a	f 324a	1912	Introduction. The famous story of Nu'mān b. Mundhir, the king of Ilīra, and Ḥanzala of Tayy, Mundhir's "Evil Day", and how Ḥanzala, falling a victim, fulfilled his promise; hence the abolition of that evil institution. (Cf. <i>Aghāni</i> , xix, 87, 88).
f 51a	f 325a	1913	Ibrāhīm b. Dhakwān al-Ḥarrānī is arrested by the Caliph al-Mahdī in connection with the intrigue of al-Hādī, his son, and condemned to death; but just before his execution hears the news of the death of al-Mahdī, and is released and rewarded by al-Hādī. (<i>T. F. S.</i> mentioned as the source, but this anecdote is not traceable in the Cairo edition. Cf. also <i>al-Fakhri</i> , ed. Derenbourg, p. 263).
"	f 325b	1914	The Caliph Hārūn arrests Bakr b. al-Mu'tamir in connection with the secret letters of al-Amīn while he was attempting to overthrow the succession of al-Ma'mūn, and convicts him of treason; but suddenly the Caliph dies, and Bakr is released by the Wazīr Fadhl b. Rabf. The (<i>Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā-i-Banī'l-Abbās</i> , mentioned as the source, but the anecdote is also found in <i>T. F. S.</i> II, viii, pp. 48—9, since at-Tanūkhī himself has borrowed from the book of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdūs, probably <i>Kitābu'l-Wusarā</i> , see above, p. 92).
f 52a	f 326a	1915	The story of a traveller who witnessed a strange spectacle in a graveyard, and the wretched Qādhī of the town who employed a beautiful girl for coffin-stealing whose hand he had cut off and whom he was obliged to marry. (Cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> pt. II, viii, pp. 52—5).

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f 53a	f 326b	1916	How Ghassán-i-ʿAyyār protects ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā, his rival, a governor of the Caliph al-Mutawwakil, on his appeal. (Khaqanī cited).
f 53b	f 327a	1917	The threats of the Caliph al-Hādī to Yaḥya b. Khālid, the Barmecide, for the purpose of inducing him to reject the claims of Harūn to the succession; the arrest of Yaḥyā, who is saved by the death of al-Hādī, the succession of Harūn and the birth of al-Ma'mūn.
"	"	1918	Mu'izzu'd-Dawla the Buwayhid attacks Mawṣil and defeats Nāṣiru'd-Dawla, the Ḥamdānid; during the campaign an attempt is made to assassinate Nāṣiru'd-Dawla. (Cf. <i>The Eclipse</i> , vol. II, pp. 94—5, where the same events are related under the year 335 A. H., while Ibnu'l-Athīr mentions the capture of Mawṣil under the year 337 A. H.).
f 54a	f 327b	1919	By order of the Caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik, Muḥammad b. Yazīd, the governor of ʿIrāq, liberates the victims of al-Ḥajjāj and imprisons his secretary, Yazīd-i-Abū Muslim, who later on gets into power and wants to assassinate Muḥammad, but is killed before he can exact vengeance. (The author says that at-Tanūkhī in the <i>Faraj</i> has adopted a different version of the same anecdote, cf. <i>T. F. S.</i> I, iii, p. 62).
f 54b	"	1920	ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwān orders the amputation of the hand of a thief, whereupon the old mother of the thief pleads for mercy and obtains his release from the Caliph by a piquant remark. The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric.
			Part IV, Chapter XIII = LXXXVIII: On the Wonders of Destiny: Luck and Reverses.
f 55b— f 55a	f 328a	1921	A short introduction on the inevitability of Destiny. The predictions of a mysterious person about the wicked course of life and the inevitable doom of a new-born female child. (Story related in connection with the Verse: "Wheresoever ye be, death will overtake you" (<i>Qur'an</i> , IV, 80).
f 55a	"	1922	The doomed hoopoe, that falls a victim in spite of having noticed the net. (Cf. <i>Sindbād-nāma</i> [Or. 255 Br. Mus.] f 129a—f 130a).
f 55b	f 328b	1923	A sparrow, that taught three lessons and pointed out a hidden treasure to its owner, but could not avoid a net.
"	"	1924	The convictions of the four companions in travel about the workings of the universe and the sources of happiness: one of them, the son of a goldsmith, believes in manual labour, and provides rest for one day with his humble earnings; another, the son of a trader, believes in commerce, and entertains his friends the next day with the proceeds of his business; the third, the son of a Wazīr, believes in birth, meets an old family acquaintance, and through his bounty entertains his friends in his turn; while the fourth, the son of a king, believes in Fate, and without any effort of his own is made the crown-prince of that country, and rewards his three companions.
f 56a	f 329a	1925	The curious pleasure which Ibnu'l-Jaṣṣās al-Jawharī, the Jeweller of the Caliph al-Muqtadir, obtained from laying out his jewels; and the sudden raid on his house, in consequence of which he conceals them in a

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			garden until he recovers and repairs his fortune. (Cf. above, IV, vii, 1850; also, <i>Eclipse</i> , vol. I, p. 35, footnotes).
f 56b	f 329a	1926	A person, afraid of 'Azrá'il (the angel of death), requests the Prophet Sulaymán to transport him by air to India, a very distant land; but the pre-ordained doom falls on him there only.
"	"	1927	The Prophet asks 'Azrá'il whether he pitied the lot of any of his victims. 'Azra'il mentions two occasions, which happened to be the birth and the death of Shaddád.
f 57a	f 329b	1928	A pious man of an Arab tribe, when asked about the wholesale death of the dogs and cocks of the tribe, attributes it to the wisdom of Providence, which ultimately proves to be a blessing in disguise, since his tribe remained unmolested and unnoticed, though a strong foe had raided the surrounding district (The <i>Kitáb-i-Samaru'l-Arab</i> (?) as the source).
"	"	1929	Luqmán, the philosopher, and his son, detained by accident while travelling, are informed of the calamity which had fallen upon the place previous to their arrival.
f 57b	"	1930	The mystery of the missing head, and how al-Masrúr, the agent of the Caliph Háirún, supplied it to make up the number of forty heads which he was carrying to Baghdád, after killing the band of robbers in Ahwáz; the supplied head also proved to be that of a disguised villain.
"	f 330a	1931	Núshírwán highly surprised at the striking contrasts in the life of an old man; whilst in poverty, the man did not grieve at a severe wound on the sole of his foot, but in prosperity felt indisposed when flowers were showered on his head.
f 58a	"	1932	Moses shown the mysterious working of Providence: The equitable treatment of the horseman, the lad, and the blind man. (The <i>Laṭa'if-i-Qiṣaṣ-i-Anbiyá</i> (?) as the source).
"	f 330b	1933	Núshírwán's earnest desire to know the wonderful workings of Destiny, and Buzurjmíhr's practical demonstration in the court by making Núshírwán overthrow the Múbad and instal him in the latter's place.
f 59a	f 331a	1934	Abú Muḥammad al-Muhallabí, the Wazír, relates the curious incident of a person on whom a party of sailors put fetters in joke, which proved to be a portent of his just doom. (The <i>Kitáb-i-Khalqu'l-Insán</i> as the source). The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric.
Part IV, Chapter XIV = LXXXIX: On Human Monstrosities and strange Births.			
ff 59	ff 331	1935	Introduction discussing the theories of the formation of the human body, and the opinion of the philosophers about the influence of Nature on Matter and vice versa. The Amír of Yaman presents to the Caliph [al-Ma'mún] a creature of curious formation, which was seen at the house of the Qāḍí Yaḥyá b. Akṭham. Its upper body was that of a man, having two teats like the dugs of an animal, and the rest of the body was like a bird without any limbs, and it recited eloquent verses. (Abu'l-'Abbás [Aḥmad

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f 59b	f 331b	1936	b. Muḥammad b. 'Alawiyya, nicknamed] Jirabu'd-Dawla and also Rih's work <i>Būy-baz</i> or <i>Būy-bar</i> (?) are mentioned as the source. Yaqūt in <i>Irshud</i> II, p. 63 mentions a work of the latter on amusement named <i>Tarwīḥu 'l-Arwāḥ wa-Miftāḥu's-Surūr wa 'l-Ifrāḥ</i> ; probably that work is meant here. Cf. also <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 451, where this anecdote is given in extenso). An instance of duality of the sexual organ in a girl. (The <i>Ṭabai'ul-Hayawan</i> of Sharafu'z-Zaman Tāhir al-Marwazī, the court-physician of Malikshāh, as the source, see above, p. 88—9). Another contemporary instance of the same nature cited by the Author. (The first instance is quoted in <i>H. N. Q.</i> , see above, p. 27).
f 60a	f 332a	1937	A monk relates the story of the birth of an extremely ugly and deformed child in the Holy Land. (See above, p. 27).
"	"	1938	Another observation of the famous Physician, Sinan b. Thābit al-Harranī, on a deformed woman. (See above, p. 97).
"	"	1939	Sharafu'z-Zaman Tāhir relates the story of a deformed woman in Marw, who used to work with her legs. (See above, p. 88).
f 60b	"	1940	Nāṣiru'd-Dawla, the Daylamite ruler, is presented by an Armenian with a pair of twins joined together at birth. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Dayalima</i> as the source (?)). The Author in support of such prodigies cites the birth of the twins, the sons of 'Abd Manāf. (See above, p. 27).
"	"	1941	Another instance of malformation, related by Ubaydu'llah b. Bukht-Yishu' b. Jibrā'il in one of his works, of a man whose leg was turned from behind upwards and reached his head after passing between his shoulders. (See above, p. 98).
"	"	1942	Another contemporary instance of monstrosity. A creature is brought before the Sultan Iltutmish having the face of a monkey, the mouth of a bear without the lower set of teeth, and the rest of the body like that of a human being. (See above, p. 27).
"	"	1943	Hippocrates's observation on the cause of the generation of monstrosities. (See above, p. 98).
f 61a	f 332b	1944	Sharafu'z-Zamān, the court-physician to Malikshāh, explains the cause of sexlessness in either sex, and describes three kinds of such people. (See above, p. 88). A note on the contemporary circle of the Wazīr, who cultivated literary and administrative talents. The Author concludes the chapter with a splendid panegyric on the Wazīr, his illustrious patron.
			Part IV, Chapter XV = XC: On Longevity in Animals, and an account of the Long-lived.
f 61b- f 62a	f 333	1945	Introductory discourse on the duration of life among animals. Man is supposed to have lived the longest, eg. Noah, reported to have lived 1450 years. The astronomical, or rather astrological, calculation of the normal period of a man's life. The influence of heavenly bodies and climate on the existence of man. Abu Ma'shar [Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī], the famous astrologer,

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			examines the horoscope of the new-born son of the King of Sarandīb, and predicts his age according to his environments.
f 62a	f 333b	1946	The exceptionally long life of the King of Jālandhan (250 years), and the belief that prevailed in ancient India that life can be prolonged by medicine.
"	"	1947	The client of the Caliph 'Alī, called Abu'd-Dunyā al-Mu'ammār, who is said to have lived about 300 years.
"	"	1948	A short account of Akḥam b. Ṣayfī, who lived 190 years. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. XI, pp. 9—18). In connection with the lives of the long-lived the Author mentions as his source the work of Abū 'Abdu'llah Muḥammad b. 'Imrān al-Marzubānī called the <i>Kitābu'sh-Shabīb wa'sh-Shayb</i> or the Book of Youth and Age. (See above, pp. 84—6).
f 62b	"	1949	A short notice of the life of Zuhayr b. Jannāb b. Hubal al-Kalbī, with his lines on his age, 220 years. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. XX, pp. 24—7).
"	"	1950	Nayr b. Duhmān's dotage and rejuvenation. Verses of an ancient Arabian poet are cited. Age 190 years. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. LXIII, pp. 70—71).
"	"	1951	Ju'shum b. 'Awf's longing for death. His verses cited. Age 250 years. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. XXV, p. 33).
"	"	1952	'Abbād b. Sa'īd [or Sa'īd b. Aḥmar] b. Thawr b. Khidāsh b. Saksak b. Kinda's lamentation on his age. Verses cited. Age 300 years. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. XC, p. 87).
"	f 334a	1953	Sharya b. Abdu'l-Ju'fī's strong constitution at a very ripe old age; he was much healthier than his sons owing to a suitable wife. Age 300 years. (Story corresponds, no verses cited; cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. XXXVIII, p. 40).
"	"	1954	al-Mustawghir b. Rabī'a's weariness of life. His verses cited. Age 330 years. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. X, pp. 7—8).
"	"	1955	The lamentation of [Ka'b b.] Radāt b. Dhuhl an-Nakha'ī at his miserable existence. Age 400 and 170 years. (Verses do not agree and even the age differs, cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. LXXIX, p. 82).
"	"	1956	'Amr [or Ka'b] b. Ḥumama ad-Dawsī's joy in old age, expressed in his verses. Age 390 years. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. XVI, pp. 21—2).
f 63a	"	1957	Duwayd b. Zayd b. Nahd (al-Ḥimyari's) longing for existence, and his verses before death. Age 400—460 years. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. XIII, pp. 19—20).
"	"	1958	Enumeration of the ages of Tayyī' b. Udad, Quss b. Sa'īda al-Iyādī and Saṭfī, 500, 380, 500 years, respectively. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. LXXV, p. 80).
"	f 334b	1959	Account of 'Awj b. 'Anaq from Commentaries.
"	"	1960	Account of Luqmān b. 'Ād and his seven vultures. (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. III, p. 2).
f 63b	f 335a	1961	Account of Luqmān the Philosopher and his ten thousand wise maxims.
f 64a	"	1962	The Arab sage and arbiter, 'Āmir b. az-Zarīb al-'Adwānī's instructions to his slave-girl, and his decrees. (The <i>Majma'u'l-Amthal</i> as the source). (Cf. S. K. M. Biog. No. XLV).
			The chapter ends with a panegyric, and a prayer for the long life of his patron.

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			Part IV, Chapter XVI = XCI: (On Cosmography): On "Climes" and Routes, and cold and hot Regions.
f 64b	f 335b	1963	The inhabited parts of the world. Equatorial regions and frigid zones. The majority of the peoples that inhabit the world: The Chinese, the Turkish tribes inhabiting Central Asia, the Byzantines, the Persians, the Indians and the Abyssinians. The temperate regions, which correspond with the fourth "Clime", best suited for habitation. The Author himself, being an inhabitant of the same, gives a detailed account of them based on astronomical observations.
f 65a	f 336a	1964	The division of the world into "Seven Climes", according to the belts of latitude, as conceived by the old Arab Geographers. (In general, the classification of the "Climes" or <i>Iqlims</i> corresponds with the one adopted by Qazwini and Dimashqi. (See above, p. 102, para. 1).
f 66a	f 336b	1965	An account of old Chín: its art, civilization, etc.: a description of the capital of Chín, its inhabitants and its rulers; some of its peculiar customs, <i>eg.</i> the annual open-court, and the ceremony of pricking arrows in a log of wood out of which a beautiful figure was to be carved, and the sagacity of the people who perceived by the mark of the arrow of the predecessor, what particular figure he had in his mind; the fame of the people for fine arts and painting, which formed a part of their religion as instituted by Manes; and the practice of magic among the petty vendors. The experience of a Muslim ambassador at the Chinese court, where the interpreters of various languages were employed, and how he was struck by the fine texture of the cloth manufactured in that country. The chief assets of the country. An account of a valley adjacent to an isle which was inhabited by descendants of the Caliph 'Alí, who had fled to Khurásán and taken refuge in the Far East from fear of the Umayyads, and settled there, and acted as intermediaries between the Chinese and Islamic countries.
f 66b	f 337a	1966	Concerning Turkistán: The Mongol and Tartar tribes; their conversion to Islam; their advance on Muslim lands and their diffusion over other countries, commencing from the time of Chagri — the Saljúqs — the Khwárazmsháhs — the Qáys — the Ghuzz Turks — the Kharkhíz tribes and their custom of seeking information of coming events from the favourite of the public, a person chosen for this special purpose.
f 67a	"	1967	The region of Kharkhíz, [or the country of Gharjistán] containing four valleys, the fountain-head of many great rivers. The great water [probably the Marw river or Murgháb is meant] that loses itself in the sands. The experiences of an adventurer in this water, and a description of the strong and tall inhabitants of that desert. The Kharluj tribe inhabiting the Kúh (?) containing gold mines. The Tughuzghuz Turks and their nine branches. The Kimák tribe, their nomadic life and customs. The Saqáliba — the Rúš: — their waters, their curious law of inheritance, their conversion to Christianity, then to Islam, their relations with the Khwárazmsháhs. (Cf., <i>Y. M. B.</i> II, 834). The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazir.

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			Part IV, Chapter XVII = XCII: On the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Indians, the Abyssinians and the inhabitants of the Jazá'ir.
f 68a	f 338a	1968	An account of the old Byzantines, generally called the people of Rum: — its division into four provinces, each under a chief who owed allegiance to the Qayşar, the ruler of the whole empire. Their military organisation and civil administration — the various Orders of the old Greek Church — followers of other religions as the tax-paying citizens in the State — the revival of learning after the immigration of the Greeks into Asia Minor — Macedonia, the home of philosophers, deserted and Constantinople revived — the building of the great Cathedral.
f 68b	f 338b	1969	On the Arabs: The Peninsula of Arabia — its extent and boundaries — the Arabs the chosen people, as the Prophet Muḥammad rose amongst them. The ancient civilizations of the Ḥimyarites and the Ghassánids, the latter being the pioneers in Islam of the sciences of religion, genealogy and philology. The peculiarities of the Bedouin tribes, famous for their poetry, eloquence, and swift-footedness — a few of the famous Ṣa'álku'l-'Arab. The account of a Bedouin, related on the authority of an eye-witness, Sharafu'z-Zamán Ṭáhir al-Marwazí, in the year 448 A. H.
f 69a	f 339a	1970	An anecdote of the agility and wit of a Bedouin.
f 69b	"	1971	A short account of India: — its agreeable climate — its unique products — snake-charming, magic and sorcery as special types of the secret arts practised by them — the 99 races and 48 religions of India.
"	"	1972	On the Abyssinians, called Ḥabasha. The various black races — their marked features — extreme heat that affects their features and temperament.
"	"	1973	A king of Khurásán employs Negroes in his army to frighten the Turks beyond the Oxus, who took them for giants and dared not fight with them. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Mawward'n-n-Nahr</i> as the source; probably the work of Majdu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. 'Adnán as-Surkhakátí, the maternal uncle of the Author, also called the <i>Ta'rikh-i-Turkistán</i> , is meant. See above, p. 44).
f 70a	f 339b	1974	An account of the earliest alliance by marriage between Írán and Turkistán: Balaj or Balḥ (?), the king of Turkistán, gives his daughter to the King of Írán called Ḥasanawayh or Ḥastawayh (?); the King of Írán sends among other presents a Zangí, a curiosity which the people of Turkistán had never seen before; the Zangí becomes a favourite of the King, and seizing his opportunity kills the King, makes himself the ruler, and becomes famous in Turkistán as Qará Khán. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Mulúk-i-Turkistán</i> mentioned above, as the source. See also <i>Chahár Maqála</i> , Text, pp. 184—9).
"	"	1975	An account of a few peculiarities of the Zangís, <i>eg.</i> fencing with poisoned spears — eating snakes — making special flexible bows and super-fine shields from the hide of an animal called Malṭ (or Lamṭ). (The

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f 70a	f 339b	1976	<p><i>Kitāb-i-ʿAjdāʾib-u'l-Baḥr</i> (?) as the source). (Cf. <i>Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale par el-Bekri</i>, De Slane, Alger 1857, p. 171).</p> <p>On the inhabitants of the Jaza'ir or the Islands on the Caspian Shores: — the extremes of climate, the adjoining country of Bulghar and other neighbouring tribes. The Moving Sands and the Land of Women. (Cf. <i>Q. A. B.</i> I, p. 722; II, pp. 431—40). (The account of the Land of Women in the West is taken from a <i>Siyar'u'l-Mulūk</i>, and at the end the works on <i>Masālik wa-Mamālik</i> and on <i>Ṭabāyī</i> are indefinitely referred to. See above, pp. 101—3).</p> <p>The chapter ends with a eulogy.</p> <p>Part IV, Chapter XVIII = XCIII: On Monuments and remarkable Buildings.</p> <p>Introduction dealing with antiquities and monuments as the best proof of the civilization of the times. The well-known couplet is cited in the original Arabic:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">"These are our works which prove . what we have done; Look, therefore, at our works when we are gone".</p> <p>The author's visit to Samārqand and the inscription written on the edifice erected by the Ṣadr-i-Jahan ʿAbdu'l-ʿAzīz [Burhanu'd-Dīn], the head of the Āl-i-Burhan, and one of the notables of Bukharā who lived about 574 A. H., in the calligraphy of the learned Kargas.</p>
f 71a— f 71b	f 340	1977	<p>An account of "The Iram of the Columns", historically the old Damascus (see Le Strange's <i>Palestine under the Moslems</i> p. 232), and traditionally the Paradise of Shaddād and the <i>Iramu Dhūtu'l-ʿImād</i> mentioned in the <i>Qurʾān</i>. (This and the next account agree with Qazwīnī's <i>Āthār</i>, pp. 9—11).</p>
f 72a	f 341a	1978	<p>A glimpse of the site and interior of the Paradise of Shaddād, as related by ʿAbdu'llah b. Qilāba al-Anṣārī, the efforts of the Caliph Muʿāwiya to trace it, and the advice of Kaʿbu'l-Aḥbār in the matter. (Cf. <i>V. M. B.</i> I, pp. 213—5).</p>
f 72b	"	1979	<p>The wondrous tower built by Dhu'l-Qarnayn (see, for the identity of Dhu'l-Qarnayn, the opinion of al-Bīrūnī, <i>B. A. B.</i> pp. 36—42) at the port of Alexandria, for watching the movements of ships: 300 knots or rope-lengths in height, one solid block of stone, square at the bottom and octagonal in shape, surmounted by a refractive mirror, which is said to have permitted the observation of ships at sea at a distance of one month's voyage, and which was also used as an effective means of destroying hostile ships by burning them through radiation. Later, the tower having fallen into the hands of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ during the Muslim conquest of Egypt, the monks maliciously advised him to search for the hidden treasures of Dhu'l-Qarnayn which lay beneath the glass dome; when it was opened for this purpose, it could not be restored properly, and since then it lost its magical powers. Our author says that it existed and attracted visitors in his time. (But Yāqūt, a</p>

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			contemporary, in his <i>Mu'jamu'l-Bulddn</i> , Vol. I, pp. 261—2, has given a very interesting criticism on this tower, and has proved by personal observation that the exaggerated accounts of it incorporated in most works of geography are false. al-Qazwīnī is content to describe it, and says nothing by way of criticism. See <i>Q. A. B.</i> pp. 97—8).
f 73a		1980	A relic of the marble-columned court erected by the Dīvs for the prophet Solomon at Alexandria. (Cf. <i>Q. A. B.</i> p. 98).
"		1981	The wonderful column and statue at 'Aynu'sh-Shams in Egypt. (Cf. <i>V. M. B.</i> III, p. 762—3).
"	f 341b	1982	The Pyramids of Egypt, and the Caliph al-Ma'mūn's visit, (Cf. <i>Q. A. B.</i> pp. 178—9).
f 73b	"	1983	The Castle of Ba'labakk (Heliopolis), and its stones, the wonders of Syria: (Cf. <i>D. N. D.</i> p. 199, also Le Strange's <i>Palestine</i> , pp. 295—8).
"	f 342a	1984	A stone-built fortress city called Najāt.
"	"	1985	The Aywān-i-Kisrá, the famous palace of the Persian Kings which received a shock at the birth of the Prophet and which al-Manṣūr wanted to demolish.
"	"	1986	The foundation of the city of Baghdād by the Caliph al-Manṣūr. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Khulafā-i-Banū'l-'Abbās</i> as the source. See above, p. 47). The chapter ends with an account of the Masjid-i-Alf or Mosque of 1000 Arches erected by Iltutmish in the old capital of Dihlī, and with a panegyric.
Part IV, Chapter XIX = XCIV: On strange Talismans.			
f 74b— f 75a	f 342b— f 343a	1987	Introduction dealing with the genius of man in contriving wonderful talismans to perpetuate his memory.
			Abū Muṭfī [or Saṭfī or Muṭfī] of Balkh, a famous travelling philosopher's three wonderful presents to the Amīr Abu'l-'Abbās (?) of Balkh which he refused: (1) The wonderful hen made of wood that laid an egg at the time of prayers. (2) The wonderful figure of a man with a drum hung round its neck, that used to strike it at regular intervals so as to indicate the time of day. (3) The wonderful drum that cured persons of colic. The first two were destroyed by the artist in anger, and the third one, the drum, was presented to the Amīr Tásh, who was cured of colic, and rewarded the maker with 5,000 <i>Dinārs</i> . This drum was later on presented to Abū 'Alī Ilyās (?) who foolishly destroyed it, but repented when he came to know its mysterious effects.
		1988	The story of the jealousy of the Byzantine philosophers against Abū 'Alī Ibn Sīnā: the invitation of the Byzantines to cure a favourite slave-girl of the king of her eye-disease without touching her, and the counterfeit slave that Abū 'Alī made to cure her, in order to deceive the Byzantines and bring them to their knees. (Story not traceable in Qiftī's <i>Ta'rikhu'l-Hukamā</i>).
f 75a	f 343a	1989	The four wonders enumerated by 'Abdu'llah b. 'Amr b. al-'Ās: (1) The magical mirror at the top of the Tower of Alexandria. (Cf. above,

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			IV. xviii. 1979, perhaps alluding to the same). (2) The Bronze Statue of a horseman in Andalus. (3) The Water-sprinkling Minaret in the land of the 'Ad. (4) The Olive-Turret in Byzantium.
f 75b	f 343a	1990	The enchanted walls of the city of Naşbîn, and the discovery of its mystery by Şalâhu'd-Dîn (Saladin).
"	"	1991	The wonderful Water-Mill in the city of the prophet Yunus, called Nineveh. (See above, p. 27).
"	f 343b	1992	Bilinâs's clever contrivance to get rid of the mice that pestered the inhabitants of one of the Chinese towns. (The <i>Kitab-ı Tıllasmut</i> as the source). (Cf. <i>Q. T. H.</i> p. 65, where Alyanús ar-Rûmanî's account is given in connection with a plague that had spread in Antioch).
"	"	1993	The Sultân Bahâ'u'd-Dîn Bâmiyân and the Imam Fakhru'd-Dîn ar-Râzî pay a visit to the abode of an ascetic who had tamed beasts, and claimed to possess the power of subduing wild animals. (Fakhru'd-Dîn ar-Râzî mentions a book on the subject of Talismans, composed by a certain great Greek philosopher, called Aludaţis or Abudaţis(?)).
f 76a	"	1994	The legendary account of the enchanted city of Babylon, and the seven wondrous and magical villas in it. (<i>at-Taysir fi't-Tafsir</i> of Najmu'd-Dîn Abû Ḥafş 'Umar b. Muḥammad an-Nasafî as the source.) (See above, p. 65 and p. 27).
f 76b	f 344a	1995	The enchanted city made by the Dîvs for Solomon in Andalus, and the vain attempts of Músâ b. Nuşayr to discover its mystery. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Bant Marwân</i> (?) is referred to).
			The chapter ends as usual with a panegyric on the Wazîr.
			Part IV, Chapter XX = XCV: On the Curious Properties of Natural Objects.
f 77b	f 344b- f 345a	1996	Introduction dealing with the properties of the magnetic stone, the fire-eating animal, and other curious phenomena. Description of the Idol at Somnât, Maḥmûd of Ghazna's curiosity to know how it was suspended in air without any support, and the discovery of the magnetic equilibrium which was acting upon it. (Cf. <i>Q. A. B.</i> pp. 63—4, s. v., Somnât).
f 78a	f 345a	1997	The author Muḥammad al-'Awfî's first experience at sea of the polarisation of the magnet. (Perhaps this is the earliest account of a compass in Persian literature).
"	"	1998	An account of the demonstration of the natural affinity of gold and mercury.
"	"	1999	An instance of curing a Persian prince of jaundice by the stone called <i>Ḥajaru'l-Yaraqûn</i> , and how it can be obtained through swallows. (al-Qazwînî in <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 220 mentions on the authority of Aristotle the similar property of the stone " <i>Ḥajaru's-Şanawbar</i> ", which can be obtained by similar methods).
f 78b	f 345b	2000	Another instance of the cure of the disease of stone in the bladder by a stone found in Egypt. (Again al-Qazwînî in <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 221 quotes from the Shaykhu'r-Ra'îs i. e., Avicenna, a passage about the <i>Ḥajaru'l-Yahûdî</i> which is said to possess the same property of curing kidney stone).

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f 78b	f 345b	2001	The wonderful cloud-gathering and rain-producing fire-temple in Armenia. (See above, p. 27).
"	"	2002	An account of one of the early wars between the infidel King of Kābul and Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Sabuktigīn, and the advice of an old woman to Maḥmūd of Ghazna to pollute the wondrous spring in the neighbourhood of Naḡharu in order to freeze the atmosphere, and thereby render the enemy motionless. (The <i>Ta'rikh-i-Dawlat-i-Jāmīn</i> of Abū Naṣr [ʿUtbi] as the source. See above, p. 63). Cf. also Muqaddasī <i>Aḥṣan'at-Taqasīm</i> p. 303, who mentions a town Shiyān in the district of Askimasht, where there was a wondrous spring. (Shiyān is situated near Farwān, in Kābul).
f 79a	"	2003	The story of the first appearance of Barmak of Balkh at the court of ʿAbdu'l-Malik b. Marwān, and how he was disgraced for carrying on him poison which affected the poison-detecting armlet of the Caliph; and a similar story related by Barmak about the wondrous silver fish of the ruler of Gurgān which possessed the curious property of attracting rubies from the depths of the sea. (Qazwīnī <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 218—9 under " <i>Hajaru's-Samm</i> " relates the same story ascribing it to Jaʿfar b. Barmak and the Caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbdu'l-Malik. See above, p. 83, ll. 25—43).
f 79b	f 346a	2004	The mysterious disappearance of al-Muqannaʿ, the veiled Prophet of Khurāsān in the mercury cauldron which was discovered afterwards by the victorious Muʿadh b. Muslim. A note by the Author about the legend of the triple spiritual conspiracy of Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (executed in 923 A. D.) who claimed to be God-incarnate; and Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (alive until 1064 A. D.) who claimed to be the accredited successor of the Prophet; and al-Muqannaʿ (according to al-Bīrūnī d. 785 A. D.) who claimed to be the prophet of God. These three are said to have lived at one time. (The approximate interval between Muqannaʿ, the pseudo-prophet and al-Ḥallāj, the antinomian pantheist, is 137 years; and between the latter and Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, the poet-philosopher and Ismāʿīlī propagandist, 142 years. See above I, v, 292. Cf. also, <i>Lit, Hist. Pers.</i> Vol. I, pp. 318—323).
"	"	2005	The curious stone presented to a traveller by the King of Sarandīb, which, when boiled in melted butter, produced an ointment that was proof against the cuts of steel. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 237: "Manṭūs: Aristotle says 'this is an Indian stone, which resists steel, when struck with it'").
f 80a	f 346b	2006	The wearing of the shoe made of the scales of a fish called " <i>Samaku'l-Yahūd</i> ", as a sure remedy for gout.
"	"	2007	An account of the confiscation of the property of Bukht-Yishūʿ, and his execution. He possessed a stone which he kept in a casket. His slave points out to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil its curious property of removing the hair, and also maliciously advises him to renew its chemical properties, yearly, by putting it in blood, upon which the stone became useless (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 235, who mentions a stone called " <i>Lāqīn'ish-Shaʿr</i> ", and quotes Aristotle).
"	"	2008	An autobiographical account of the stay of the Author at the court of the Sultan Nuṣratu'd-Dīn ʿUthmān b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn, the Ilāk Khān of Turkistān who ruled in Samarqand between 600 and 609 A. H. An

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			<p>explanation of the verse of the poet Manṣūr-i-Mantiql, concerning the allusion of the poet to the special effect of joy and exhilaration produced on a Persian in the land of Tibet. When the prince asked what the allusion meant, the Author, having studied a work on the chemical properties of natural objects composed by his maternal uncle, Majdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ziyā'u'd-Dīn 'Adnān as-Surkhakātī, the court-physician of the prince's father, explained it, by describing the effect of a species of magnetic stone, called the "<i>Hujarū'l-Bāḥū</i>" (<i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 211-2), found in Tibet, which excites laughter in foreigners. After this the Author was much favoured by the prince and patronised at the court. (The <i>Khawāṣṣ-i-Ashyā</i> is mentioned in this connection; see above, p. 67). A similar instance of an explanation of a verse (of the <i>Qur'ān</i>) in a literary talk at the court of the same prince is mentioned by the Author in the <i>Lubdb</i>, Part I, pp. 44-5.</p> <p>The author closes this chapter after enumerating certain properties of the magnetic stone, probably from personal experience.</p> <p>The chapter ends with a panegyric on the Wazīr.</p> <p>Part IV, Chapter XXI = XCVI. On the peculiarities of animals and their curious effects.</p>
f 80b	f 347a	2009	<p>In the introduction the author states that, since he has dealt fully with the nature and temperament of mankind throughout the collection, and in order to make this book more comprehensive and valuable, he thinks proper to devote a few chapters to the animal kingdom also.</p> <p>On the elephant: its domestic nature, its constitution, and longevity. A quotation from the book called <i>Ṭaba'ī'ī-Hayawānāt</i>, about the inverted tip of the tongue of the animal; according to some Indian Philosophers, the animal could have spoken if only its tongue were located in the right direction (<i>i.e.</i> tip forwards like man). Further, they have found support for this conjecture in the keen sense and discipline in the nature of the animal. (Cf. <i>D. H. H.</i> II, p. 269; <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 400.) Certain methods of hunting the elephant. (The anecdote concludes with a couplet of Tāju'd-Dīn Sarakhsī).</p>
f 81b	f 347b	2010	A story of the spiteful nature of the animal: The elephant that killed the son of a certain Muḥammad Fīlawī in Marw, in the reign of Malikshāh. (The <i>Kitāb-i-Ṭaba'ī'ī-Hayawānāt</i> of Marwazī as the source, see above, p. 89).
"	"	2011	A story told by the Author on the authority of a friend (Shamsu'd-Dīn Qaysar (?), probably a physician in Nahrwāla) about the elephant that took vengeance upon a tailor. Certain further peculiarities of the animal.
"	"	2012	How Sharafu'z-Zamān Tāhir Marwazī (the court-physician of Malikshāh, whose work is often cited in matters connected with medicine and natural history) treated the wound of a royal elephant in Marw in 478 A.H. = 1085-6 A.D. (See above, pp. 88-9).
"	f 348a	2013	The camel: its peculiar constitution and various breeds.

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f82a	f348a	2014	The grudge of the camel, and the story of an Arab.
"	"	2015	Some medicinal properties of the parts of a camel.
"	"	2016	The buffalo: its habit of sinking in water and killing fleas. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 383, <i>D. H. H.</i> p. 229).
"	"	2017	A person coaxes his sunken buffalos by music.
f82b	"	2018	The ox: various kinds, Byzantine cows with 4 horns; a peculiar method of breeding bees from the corpse of a calf, and some aspects of bee-hiving.
"	f348b	2019	Sheep: their usefulness, wool, difference in colour arising from the different waters they drink, with illustrative examples, and their special breeds.
f83a	"	2020	The goat of a butcher fed on flesh and its delicious meat.
"	f349a	2021	The deer: its kinds, common and musk-deer; the theory of the congestion of blood in the gland of the animal, and how the Tibetans and other Central Asian tribes hunt after these musk-bladders. The association of a partridge with a deer.
f83b	"	2022	A fowler entices partridges by wearing the skin of a deer.
"	"	2023	The antelope: its horns, its fondness for music, the account by Dioscorides of the medicinal properties of its horn. (Probably taken from an Arabic version of his work on zoology mentioned by <i>H. Kh.</i> vol. III, p. 121, No. 4662; see above, p. 98, <i>n.</i> 3 and cf. <i>Q. T. H.</i> p. 183).
f84a	f349b	2024	The horse: a noble-natured animal, illustrations from the <i>Qur'an</i> .
"	"	2025	Ptolemy's account of the famous breed of war-horses, of which one was owned by Alexander the Great.
"	"	2026	The myth of the progenitor of the famous breed of horses in Arabia, which is supposed to be one of Solomon's steeds.
f84b	"	2027	A horse found among the Kurds with small horns in the forehead, and [al-Bîrûnî's] account of such an animal being presented to the Sāmānids in Bukhārā in 339 A. H. (See above, p. 98).
"	f350a	2028	How Muḥammad b. Maslama defeated the Byzantines by threatening their horses with the stuffed skins of camels.
f85a	"	2029	The famous steed of Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, called Balqā, and the exploit of Abū Mihjan ath-Thaqafī the poet on the eve of the Battle of Qādisiyya, and his release and penitence, (The [<i>Kitābu'l-Maghānī</i>] as the source.) (Cf. Ibn Qutayba's <i>Kitābu 'sh-Shu'arā'</i> , ed. De Goeje, pp. 251—2).
"	f350b	2030	The marvellous feat of Bukayr b. 'Abdu'llah al-Laythī on his horse, by jumping it over a stream at Qādisiyya.
f85b	"	2031	The theory of the Greek philosophers about the influence of shape and colour at the time of conception, either on animals or men. Experiments tried at the time of the coupling of mares and also on human intercourse.
"	"	2032	The mule: the famous breeds of Armenia, Sharwān and Tiflis, and the special breed of the West in Andalus.
"	"	2033	Account given by Dioscorides, the Greek philosopher, of the medicinal properties of the various parts of an ass. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 376—7).
			The chapter contains no eulogy but ends with a reference to the coming chapter.

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			Part IV, Chapter XXII = XCVII: On wild and ferocious animals.
f 85b	f 350b	2034	The tiger: the king of the wild animals, and most awe-inspiring; hence kings are likened to it. 'Alī, called "the Tiger of God". Description of the structure of the body of the animal. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 389—90).
f 86a	"	2035	The mishap of a theologian, and how he escaped from the clutches of a tiger by burning a fire and keeping the tiger away from him throughout the night in a mosque. (Qadhī at-Tanūkhī's <i>al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shudda</i> as the source).
"	f 351a	2036	A Greek domesticated a tiger-cub, but repented of his rashness when the animal reverted to its natural instincts and tore his wife.
f 86b	"	2037	Aswad b. 'Iyāḏ al-Jabālī (?) is reported to have tamed a tiger for hunting zebras, a bear for hunting deers, and a wasp for catching flies. (<i>J. K. H.</i> mentioned as the source, see above, p. 97).
"	"	2038	Other medicinal properties of the skin and fat of a tiger. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 390).
"	"	2039	The leopard: its habit of attacking men while they are situated above it, and not otherwise; the enmity between a tiger and a leopard. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 404—5).
"	"	2040	The medicinal properties of its fat, and its methods of hunting and of breeding its young ones. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 405). (The <i>Katib-i-Sun'im</i> (?) referred to. See above p. 98).
"	f 351b	2041	The lion: a fierce animal, a native of India and Africa. The notion of a she-lion being impregnated with air. A curious method of hunting the cubs by incarcerating one of them in a large glass case and decoying the others. Another method of capturing old ones by puzzling them with voices of hidden men around them. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 391, where a short but different account is given).
f 87a	"	2042	The panther: its two kinds, both capable of being trained for hunting. Some peculiarities of the animal. Methods adopted for its hunting, enchanting by sweet sounds, intoxicating, or fatiguing. Some medicinal uses. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 399—400).
"	"	2043	The wolf: a wild, swift-footed, deceitful and gregarious animal, a deadly enemy of the sheep, combining in packs of twelve; hence the Byzantines call their year after it. Their terrible grip at the time of coupling. Intimidation a peculiarity of the animal; their other methods of preying. Some medicinal uses. Untameable by nature: the sad experience of an Arab. (Cf. <i>J. K. H.</i> pt. IV, p. 16, for the lines on a wolf). (Also cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 395—6, for other descriptions of the animal).
f 88a	f 352a	2044	The hyena: a fierce and loathsome animal, a digger of graves and eater of corpses; some Greeks say that it changes its sex yearly; it associates with the wolf; its cross-breeds and medicinal uses. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 398).
"	f 352b	2045	The bear: a herbivorous and carnivorous animal. The she-bear brings forth cubs like raw pieces of flesh without any shape; how she licks them and protects them from ants. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 393—4).

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f88a	f352b	2046	The monkey: its various species; some are wild and some domestic and very serviceable. In Yaman they protect the people of a mountainous place from tigers. Owing to their arrogant nature it is believed that they have got a country of their own.
f88b	"	2047	The pig: a dirty animal; its lust, and perverted habits. The account of a traveller who saw a male surrounded by a number of other males, and another story about the animal. (Both these accounts are taken from al-Jāhiz; the former is found in <i>Ḥ. K. II.</i> pt. IV, p. 17, see above, p. 97).
"	"	2048	The dog: its faithfulness and usefulness to man. Description of the finest breeds of hunting-dogs. (The <i>Tafdhilu'l-Kalbi 'ala's-Siflati minna'n-Nas</i> , a treatise of al-Jāhiz, is mentioned as the source, but the whole anecdote is traceable to <i>Ḥ. K. H.</i> pt. II, pp. 15, 16, see above, p. 97).
f89a	f353a	2049	The fox: its cunning and various methods of preying. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 391—2).
"	"	2050	The account of the lair of a fox, its seven entrances. Its method of hunting hedgehogs and cranes. Aristotle's observation on the clever way in which the fox avoids the wolf. Its varieties according to various climates. Abū Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī] narrates from a reliable source that among the presents sent to the Sāmānids at Bukhārā in 337 A.H. was seen a fox without any skin on the under-part of its body. (Cf. <i>Anec.</i> 2027, and see above, p. 98). (Aristotle's work is mentioned as the source of the earlier part of the anecdote, see above, p. 98, n. 6).
"	f353b	2051	The cat: some medicinal properties of a cat, especially the recipe for the delivery of a still-born child.
"	"	2052	The hare: a rodent quadruped of tender constitution. Superstition concerning its ankle, medicinal uses of its rennet, antidotal, anaesthetic, and sterilizing properties.
f90a	"	2053	The porcupine: natural hostility between a snake and a porcupine. Sijistān a country full of snakes; hence Nature provides destroyers also. The instinctive foresight of a porcupine in gauging the direction of the wind, and the story of a hermit who cheated the people with the help of this animal, by telling the direction of the wind. Other medicinal properties and recipes. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 444). The chapter ends with a short panegyric.
			Part IV, Chapter XXIII = XCVIII: On Strange Animals.
f90b	f354a	2054	In the introduction the author states that in this chapter only those animals are mentioned of which accounts are found in the books of the old Greek philosophers and physicians, but which are rarely to be seen; while there is another class of animals like سمور، فک، دله، سنجاب، تاقم، شق، whose skins and furs are used by people, and which are only known through their produce. How Galen witnessed a fight between two natural enemies, a serpent

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			and a weasel, and cured the weasel with an antidote prepared by him. (See above, p. 98).
f91a	f354a	2055	A similar fight witnessed by Rufus of Ephesus, called the Great, and the earliest discovery of <i>Ḥabbu'l-Far</i> as an antidote for snake-poison. The Author's versified recipe for preparing the antidote. (See above, p. 98). Then the Author proceeds to mention the various species of furs and the fur-producing countries, which are little inhabited. (Cf. al-Khwārazmī, <i>Maḥṣūḥ u'l-'Ulūm</i> ed. van Vloten, p. 176, for the <i>Tiryāqu'l-Arba'</i> and <i>Ḥabbu'l-Far</i>).
"	f354b	2056	The various opinions about the rhinoceros; according to al-Jāḥiẓ, a very rare animal, but it is to be found in numbers in India, where the Author had seen it; and he gives a description of the animal in verse. (Cf. <i>D. H. II.</i> pt. II, p. 321: s. v. Karkand i. e. Karkadan).
f91b	"	2057	The description of the animal Shérú or Sharw of the rhinoceros type; taken from Abú Rayḥān [al-Bīrūnī's <i>Kitābu'l-Hind</i>]. (See above, p. 37).
"	f355a	2058	The Rukh: camel-like and poisonous animal. (Cf. <i>D. H. H.</i> pt. I, pp. 456—7, where an account of the fabulous Rukh is given, but in 'Awfī it is mentioned as a real animal).
"	"	2059	The Giraffe: structure of the body, various theories about its origin and birth, supposed to be an animal of mixed breeds, hence the Persians call it camel-ox-leopard. Refutation of this theory by the great naturalist, al-Jāḥiẓ. (Cf. <i>J. K. H.</i> pt. I, p. 65, pt. VII, p. 76; <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 449—50; see above, p. 97).
f92a	"	2060	مارطوعون or مارطوعون: a very curious animal mentioned by Aristotle, having a double row of teeth; and another of the same species found in India described by the Greek philosophers as having three rows of teeth, resembling a tiger, having a curved tail with a sting at the end, emitting a sound like that of a reed, and of carnivorous habits. (See above, p. 98, n. 9).
"	"	2061	غرطة or غرطة: an animal resembling a bear in features and producing a sound like the voice of a man; its peculiar habit of decoying school-children and carrying them away.
f92b	"	2062	A goat-like animal having a long pointed and erect horn at the top of its head, and very fierce; but it can be hunted by coaxing it with the breast of a girl, which it sucks and becomes senseless.
"	"	2063	عره: an animal resembling a man in colour, and having legs projecting from its shoulders, with a long tail, and fond of men's company and of dancing. The Greeks call it by this name because some people have sexual intercourse with the female of the animal.
"	"	2064	الطيطوس's description of a curious animal having a broad tail, like a peacock, which it uses as a shade and fan. (See above, p. 98, n. 10).
"	"	2065	مرطليس: i. e. "Looking towards the ground", an animal emitting fire from its eyes and nostrils.
"	"	2066	An animal of weasel type, a destroyer of bee-hives and eater of young owls.
			The chapter ends with a short note directing the attention of his patron to the diversity and comprehensive nature of the work.

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			Part IV, Chapter XXIV = XCIX: On Strange Birds and their Peculiarities.
f93a	f355b-f356a	2067	Introduction illustrated by Verses from the <i>Qur'ān</i> . The fabulous 'Anqá, and the myth connected with its origin. [Hishám b. Muḥammad] al-Kalbī's account of the extinction of the species of this animal at the curse of Handhala b. Šafwán, the prophet of the people of Rass. (<i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 419—20). az-Zamakhsharī accounts for the extinction of the huge bird in his <i>Rabf'u'l-Abrār</i> in the following manner: God revealed to Moses the creation of this bird; but after Moses the bird migrated to Najd and the Hijáz, and its tyranny raged upon the people, therefore the prophet Khálid b. Sinán al-'Abī, prayed to God for its extinction. (Cf. <i>Rawḍu'l-Akhyār</i> , the abridged version of <i>Rabf'u'l-Abrār</i> , ed. Bulāq, 1280 A. H., p. 99. This is related on the authority of Ibn 'Abbás, the famous commentator. Also, <i>D. H. H.</i> pp. 192—5; particularly p. 194, in part II. See above, p. 69, Notice 23).
f93b	f356a	2068	The ostrich: resembling a camel in the structure of the body and having large wings, its eggs a delicacy, its method of laying and brooding, its characteristic forgetfulness and proverbial foolishness, swallowing of pieces of stone and hot iron. (<i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 425; <i>D. H. H.</i> pt. II, pp. 412, 420). The author recounts his experience, in Khúján a district of Nishápúr, at the school of Dhiyá'u'd-Dín Šá'id, of an ostrich that was with the Wakíl of [Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad] Khwárazmsháh [who ruled 1199—1220 A. D.] in the year 603 A. H. = 1206/7.
"	f356b	2069	A story connected with the peculiar habit of an ostrich of picking up pearls and precious stones. A Šábian accused by a jeweller of Baghdád of stealing a ruby which an ostrich had swallowed; on cutting open the animal, the ruby had lost in weight but gained in lustre ¹⁾ . The curious property of the shell of the ostrich's egg, which makes water boil on ice.
f94a	"	2070	The eagle: its various kinds, the forest eagle, the dark-coloured mountain eagle and the white one, a vulture. The " <i>Hajaru'l-'Uqáḍ</i> " or the stone of the eagle, found in India and its peculiar properties. (<i>Q. A. M.</i> p. 220).
f94b	f357a	2071	Other peculiarities of the eagle: its high flight in the skies, its brood and method of feeding them, its prey and its proverbial vigilance. (Cf. <i>Q. A. M.</i> pp. 418—9; <i>D. H. H.</i> pt. II, pp. 152—3).
"	"	2072	The vulture: its long life, its suspicious nature; and some of its medicinal properties.
f95a	"	2073	The Humáy: the fabulous bird, whose shadow is supposed to bring good luck. An anecdote concerning the cause of the high estimation of Ayáz in the eyes of the Sultan Maḥmúd of Ghazna: when the other Turkish guards were running after the shadow of this bird, Ayáz was seeking the shadow of the King.
"	f357b	2074	The Burşul (?): A bird smaller than a pigeon and very fond of its own species, it lives on olives. A story of the old Greek Musician (see above,

¹⁾ This story is related in *J. K. H.*, pt. IV, pp. 146—7; cf. *Zapiski*, vol. VI, p. 337.

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				p. 98, n. 12) who made a musical instrument that whistled like the cry of a young Burşul for food, in order to gather olives from the birds; his ascetic life, and the church which he crected and which these birds supplied with olives. The chapter ends with a hyperbolical comparison of the pen of the Wazır to a fabulous bird possessing extraordinary powers.
				Part IV, Chapter XXV = C: On Pieces of Humour and the Facetiousness of Eminent Persons.
f 287b	f 537b	f 247b	2075	A short introduction illustrated with the wit of the Prophet. The Prophet Muḥammad jokingly offers one of his followers for sale.
"	f 538a	f 248a	2076	The Prophet perplexes a woman by saying in jest that her husband's eyes have turned white.
"	"	"	2077	The Prophet and his wife 'Á'isha equal in the race.
"	"	"	2078	The Prophet humorously asks Khawwát b. Jubayr al-Anşarí what became of the runaway camel, alluding to a hoax, which Khawwát had played upon an oil-selling woman in pre-Islamic days.
"	"	f 248b	2079	The Prophet cracks a joke on one of his followers about the she-calf of a camel.
f 288a	"	"	2080	A Companion of the Prophet succeeds in putting him into good humour when he was angry.
"	"	"	2081	The Prophet enjoys for a year the practical joke of Nu'aymán on Suwaybiṭ, the Companion, whom Nu'aymán sold by force for ten camels under the pretence that he was an unruly slave. (Cf. Ibn Qutayba, <i>Kitābu'l-Ma'ārif</i> , p. 167, where Nu'aymán is the victim of Suwaybiṭ).
"	f 538b	f 249a	2082	Nu'aymán, the jocular Companion of the Prophet, and the pot of honey.
"	"	"	2083	Another trick of Nu'aymán on 'Utba b. Ḥuşayn al-Fazarí, by mischievously suggesting to him to fast in the night if he could not bear the heat in the day.
"	"	"	2084	How Nu'aymán used to tease Ibn-i-Nawfal az-Zuhri, the blind man. (Cf. Ibn Qut., <i>Ma'ārif</i> , p. 168).
"	"	f 249b	2085	A joke of the wife of the Imám A'mash on her husband.
"	f 539a	"	2086	A joke of the Imám A'mash at the expense of his wife.
f 288b	"	"	2087	The Qādhí Shurayḥ befools the people of Hamadán. (Cf. <i>Ibn Khall. Wüst. Biog.</i> No. 289).
"	"	f 250a	2088	The Qādhí Shurayḥ amused at the euphemistic expressions of a husband and wife who appealed to him for their individual rights.
"	"	"	2089	Husband and wife as litigants before a Qādhí, and their ribaldry.
"	"	"	2090	Husband and wife as litigants before an undignified Qādhí, and his scurrilous retort.
"	"	"	2091	Sharp retorts that passed between a Şúff and a theologian on the question of free-will.

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f 288b	f 539a	f 250b	2092	The retort of a Nāsibī to a Shī'ite who maliciously alleged that 'Ā'isha, the wife of the Prophet, was guilty of misconduct.
"	f 539b	"	2093	Jirabu'd-Dawla, [the Court Jester of the Buwayhids], and the amusing cries of the Prayer-Call, who used to take delight in hearing his own voice from a little distance, and therefore was in the habit of running away from his voice.
"	"	f 251a	2094	The ignorant leader of the prayer and his blunt remark about the Verse of <i>فَأَشْرِكُوا</i> .
"	"	f 250b	2095	The blunt remark of a Bedouin in prayer while the Verse <i>أَنَّا أَرْسَلْنَا</i> were being recited by the leader of the prayer.
"	"	"	2096	'Abdu'l-Malik b. Maīwān, the Caliph, demands from Suwayd ten words denoting a part of the body and beginning with the letter <i>Ḳāf</i> . Suwayd enumerates nine words, <i>الكرع، الكعب، الكعب، الكعب، الكعب، الكعب، الكعب، الكعب، الكعب</i> . The Caliph having objected to the tenth word <i>الكرس</i> as not being applicable to a man's stomach, Suwayd, after a little while recollects another word <i>الكمرة</i> in its stead and begins to cry it out from the lavatory, even before adjusting his clothes.
"	"	"	2097	The joke of a person about his own birth-constellation: a pun on the words <i>حذى</i> and <i>تس</i> .
f 289a	"	"	2098	The joke of a physician on one of his patients who complained of stomach-ache on account of eating burnt bread. The physician applies medicine to his eyes rather than give him anything to drink.
"	"	"	2099	Another joke of a physician of Samarqand on one of his patients who complained of headache.
"	"	f 251a	2100	Diatribes of a physician against the mother of a person who was suffering from inflammation of the throat, and a coarse allusion to his own wife's sexual organ.
"	"	"	2101	A jester, who posed as a Prophet, when arrested and brought before the King, acquits himself of the charge of blasphemy by a witty remark about the production of a melon in three days, whereas God himself made three months the period of its normal growth.
"	"	"	2102	The witty remark of an ugly person at the table of Ziyād about his own beautiful daughters at home.
"	"	"	2103	A lampoon on Ḥájjí Harwīsh, nicknamed Kargas; a native of Nishá-púr, by the poet Rafiqí (?).
"	f 540a	"	2104	The witty 'Ayán (?) or Bayán as a self-invited guest, and his apt quotation from the <i>Qur'án</i> , containing the ordinal number of the lozenges offered to him at table.
"	"	f 251b	2105	Ḥammád-i-Ḥamíd (?) and the Amír Shujá' of Fárs and the former's apt quotation from the <i>Qur'án</i> .
"	"	"	2106	The Caliph Hárún's envy the hand-writing of Ismá'íl [b.] Şubayḥ, and the latter's clever allusion to the illiteracy of the Prophet being no disgrace to him.

<u>B.</u>	K.	M.	Serial.	TITLES OF THE ANECDOTES
f 289a	f 540a	f 251b	2107	Rabf, the Chamberlain, put to shame by a youth of Banu Hāshim in presence of the Caliph al-Manṣūr.
"	"	"	2108	The Qādī Sharf turns the tables on the Caliph al-Mahdī who wanted to cause dissension between the Qādī and his own uncle 'Isā b. Músá.
"	"	"	2109	Yazīd b. Marḥad pleases the Caliph Harun by a witty remark, when the Caliph was playing polo.
f 289b	f 540b	"	2110	Witty remarks of a soldier who was going out of garrison with a bow without arrows.
"	"	f 252a	2111	The Qādī, being asked about a statement by 'Alī, baffles his interrogator by citing a verse from the <i>Qur'an</i> .
"	"	"	2112	A retort of Walīd b. Yazīd to Hishām b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, about buying a <i>dastār</i> .
"	"	"	2113	'Abbas b. Walīd b. 'Abdu'l-Malik and the crimson robe, and his retort to his uncle Maslama b. 'Abdu'l-Malik.
				The last or 100th chapter being defective in almost all the oldest Mss., three other Mss. are selected which contain a fairly reliable text of this chapter: B. = [Suppl. Persan 95]; K. = [Or. 236 Br. Mus.]; M. = [Add. 7672, Br. Mus.].
				The work ends with a splendid panegyric on the Wazīr.

CHAPTER VII.

RE-CLASSIFICATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE
JA WÁMTU'L-ḤIKÁYÁT

(pp. 263-270).

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RE-CLASSIFICATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE *ṢAWĀMI'UL-HIKĀYĀT*.

The original plan of the author, of dividing the whole work into four parts and subdividing each into 25 chapters, is accurately indicated in the **Comparative Index of the 100 chapters**; but the difficulty arises in the arrangement of anecdotes, which in the original scheme of the author is very unsatisfactory. The author's only concern was, as appears from the general survey of the chapters, to illustrate each chapter with the anecdotes of various personalities, periods, subjects, which are more or less loosely connected with the chapter-heading. There are indications that the author himself realised the inconsistency of his own arrangement, although he has taken care to begin each chapter with a short introduction on the subject and close it with a panegyric, which serves as a garland for his patron. There being no definite aim to exhaust the available material on a chosen subject or to illustrate its various aspects systematically, but only to incorporate detached accounts and stray anecdotes in this encyclopaedic collection, the need for a systematic re-classification arises.

In the accompanying index an attempt is made to indicate briefly the actual nature of the anecdotes analysed in the complete *Table of Contents*, to bring together anecdotes illustrating a particular subject, and to afford an opportunity of surveying the existing material on a particular subject, scattered over the 2113 units of this collection. This re-classification is a horizontal division as compared with that of the author, and will perhaps serve as a tentative historical, though not chronologically arranged, subject-index to the whole work. The contents of the hundred chapters are comprised in ten main categories, which are further divided into tangible units. The first six categories precisely indicate the historical material which is classified and elucidated. The seventh category is very general, and as most of the anecdotes in the section of Ethics are historical, they are recorded in their proper places in sections V and VI. The remaining categories show at a glance the principal topics of discussion and the number of anecdotes relating to each topic.

In the words of Dr. R. A. Nicholson, the present writer "has made a systematic analysis and classification of the contents of the above book (*Ṣawāmi'ul-Hikāyāt*), thus enabling students for the first time not only to see exactly what is there, but also readily to find any subject in which they may be interested".

RE-CLASSIFICATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE *ḤAWĀṢIṬ-UL-ḤIKĀYĀT*.

I. Legendary and semi-historical accounts.

1. Ancient Persian Kings, according to the National Epic. Pt. I, ch. iv.

a. The Pīshdādiyān: Gayūmarth to Tahmāsp, anecs. 119—135.

b. The Kayāniyān: Kay-Qubād to Dārā, son of Dārāb, 136—152.

c. The Ashkāniyān (or Parthians): Greek Invasion under Alexander to the overthrow of the Parthians, 153—156.

d. The Sāsaniyan: Ardashīr-i-Bābakān to Yazdigird III, 157—193. (i. e. 226 A. D.—652 A. D.).
Mostly based on al-Ṭhaʿālibī's *Ghurur-wa-Siyar*.

2. Ancient Kings of Rūm: Pt. I, iv. 194 and 195.

II. Traditional and historical accounts.

Pre-Islamic conditions, the Ancient Prophets, and the Prophet. Pt. I, chs. i and ii, anecs. 1—78. Early Muslim Conquests. Pt. I, ch. xii. 647—674.

(Chiefly based on the Holy Tradition and the Accounts of the Wars).

III. History.

2. The Caliphs. Pt. I, ch. v.

a. Orthodox Caliphs: 632—661 A. D. anecs. 196—234.

b. Umayyads: 661—750 A. D. anecs. 235—280.

c. ʿAbbāsids (36 only): 750—1242 A. D. anecs. 281—362.

(Accounts of the Caliphs based on al-Ṭabarī's History; two *memoriae technicae*: (1) of the 36 ʿAbbāsids from al-Saffāh to al-Mustanʿir, by the author, (2) of the 9 Sāmānids by the poet ʿUnṣurī; at the end of this chapter a contemporary account of the Caliphs and their relations with the rulers of India, *c. g.*, Iltutmish).

IV. Accounts of special families and dynasties.

1. The Barmecides. 752—804 A. D.

There are nearly 43 anecdotes of the Barmecides, from the first accredited appearance of Barmak in the court of ʿAbdu'l-Malik to the last order of Hārūn for the extermination of the Barmecides; but these are spread over the hundred chapters.

Pt. I, anecs. 295; 301; 302; 303; 304; 422; 495; 506; 566; 570; 571; 606; 743; 763; 770; 783; 784; 785; 1021; 1044; 1094; 1159.

Pt. II, anecs. 1291; 1341; 1347; 1411; 1420; 1503; 1535.

Pt. III, anecs. 1559; 1615; 1616; 1651; 1694; 1727; 1757; 1781.

Pt. IV, anecs. 1799; 1811; 1843; 1902; 1917; 2003.

2. The Ṭāhirids. 820—872 A. D.

There are nearly 34 anecdotes.

Pt. I, anecs. 312; 412; 413; 434; 441; 463; 620; 640; 709; 881; 927; 987; 1007; 1097.

Pt. II, anecs. 1288; 1346; 1385; 1387; 1417; 1428; 1435; 1436; 1437; 1443; 1515.

Pt. III, anecs. 1613; 1614; 1667; 1713.

Pt. IV, anecs. 1810; 1845; 1852; 1856; 1887.

3. The Ṣaffārīds. 868—903 A. D.

There are nearly 37 anecdotes.

Pt. I, anecs. 99; 331; 517; 561; 562; 630; 631; 633; 699; 700; 701; 710; 711; 712; 713; 714; 715; 716; 717; 718; 719; 720; 721; 1103.

Pt. II, anecs. 1281; 1283; 1434; 1448; 1452.

Pt. III, anecs. 1566; 1629; 1652; 1654; 1655; 1677; 1687; 1716.

Pt. IV, Nil.

4. The Samanids. 874—999 A. D.
 There are nearly 29 anecdotes.
 Pt. I, anecs. 348; 383; 425; 430; 442; 500, 550, 559; 610; 621; 630; 787, 905, 917, 1004.
 Pt. II, anecs. 1195; 1305; 1313; 1342; 1426; 1434; 1447; 1450; 1534.
 Pt. III, anecs. 1544; 1554; 1658; 1677; 1716.
 Pt. IV. Nil.
5. The Ziyārids. 928—1042 A. D.
 There are only 6 anecdotes.
 Pt. I, anecs. 635; 695; 736; 741.
 Pt. II, anec. 1423.
 Pt. III, anec. 1617.
 Pt. IV. Nil.
6. The Īlak Khāns of Māwarā'u'n-Nahr (who ruled in Samarqand).
 There are about 15 anecdotes.
 Pt. I, anecs. 391; 443; 508; 509; 551; 552; 962; 998; 1137; 1138.
 Pt. II, anec. 1539.
 Pt. III, anec. 1649.
 Pt. IV, anecs. 1973; 1974; 2008.
 (These are of great value, because the history of these Khāns is very meagrely recorded, and even their chronology is very uncertain. Some of these anecdotes have been utilised by Prof. W. Barthold in his "*Turkistan*"). See above, p. 31.
7. The Buwayhids. 932—1055 A. D.
 There are nearly 22 anecdotes.
 Pt. I, anecs. 344; 345; 346; 347, 382; 499; 675; 736; 737; 738; 740; 741; 787; 1027; 1028; 1029; 1039; 1040.
 Pt. II, anecs. 1299; 1379.
 Pt. III, anec. 1745.
 Pt. IV, anec. 1918.
 (A. f 115b, Pt. I, ch. v, anec. 345 is taken from the *Ta'rikh-i-Tāji*).
 (A. f 196a, Pt. I, ch. xiv, anec. 787 is important, as it shows the early relations of the Sāmānids with the Buwayhids and brings in important personalities like the Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād and Abu'l-Ḥasan b. 'Isā, the famous Wazīrs of both the dynasties).
8. The Ghaznawids. 962—1186 A. D.
 There are nearly 81 anecdotes about this dynasty. Some of them are taken from the *Ta'rikh-i-Nūṣiri* of Abu'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqī, relating to the latter portion of the work, which is supposed to be lost; while others are borrowed from the *Yamīni* of al-'Uṭbī. Another work, the *Dastūr-i-Wusarū*, is also mentioned as a source. The history of this dynasty is well represented in the *Jawāmi'* as is evident from the number of anecdotes.
 Pt. I, anecs. 349; 353; 385; 388; 398; 405; 406; 407; 409; 415; 419; 493; 494; 520; 522; 544; 549, 611; 612; 622; 627; 629; 632; 634; 639; 702; 704; 729; 730; 732; 733; 759; 782; 799; 895; 912; 982; 996; 997; 998; 1016; 1017; 1066; 1069; 1070; 1072; 1124; 1125; 1172; 1175; 1176.
 Pt. II, anecs. 1200; 1230; 1286; 1289; 1319; 1325; 1327; 1344; 1418; 1421; 1441; 1472; 1488; 1525; 1526; 1536; 1539.
 Pt. III, anecs. 1648; 1675; 1684; 1696; 1706; 1719; 1728; 1735; 1745.
 Pt. IV, anecs. 1802; 1996; 2002; 2073.
9. The Great Saljūqs. 1037—1157 A. D.
 There are nearly 23 anecdotes, but the sources are not acknowledged. Some of these

can profitably be added to the information already existing about this dynasty in the accounts of al-Bundárl, ar-Ráwandí and the Nizámu'l-Mulk respectively.

Pt. I, anecs. 350; 352; 354; 393; 396; 521; 558; 744; 745; 746; 759; 775; 954; 991; 1003; 1018; 1019.

Pt. II, anecs. 1204; 1364; 1427; 1538.

Pt. III, anec. 1626;

Pt. IV, anec. 1944.

10. The Atábaks. 489; 908.

11. The Sháhs of Khwárazm: Pt. I, 553; 554; 555; 727; 728; Pt. IV, 1792.

12. The Ghúrids. Pt. I, 360; 400; 492; 726; 727; 728; 729.

(Nos. 10, 11, 12 in this division are not properly represented, and of the very few anecdotes which illustrate the history of these dynasties some are not easily identifiable. No. 10 concerning the Atábaks contains only two anecdotes. One of these (I, ix, 489) relates to Atábak-i-Zangí, but it is not clear whether 'Imádu'd-Dín Zangí of Aleppo is meant or Núru'd-Dín Zangí of Syria or 'Imádu'd-Dín Zangí of Sinjár; and the other is that of Atábak Dakla(?). In No. 11 there are only six anecdotes: Pt. I, 553—555 about Tukush b. Íl Arslán Khwárazmsháh, one of which (555) is also given in the *Lubáib*, Pt. I, pp. 40—1; and 727 and 728 about 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh. No. 12 consists of the earliest accounts of the rulers of Ghúr, *e.g.* Mu'izzu'd-Dín, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Sám, the Ghúrid brothers.

13. The Sultans of Dihlí. Pt. I, 362; 490; 492.

There are very few anecdotes of contemporary interest. al-'Awfí could have given us valuable information on his own period, but he is silent. One anecdote of Quṭbu'd-Dín Aybak (602—607 A.D.) Pt. I, ch. ix, 490, and two or three anecdotes of Iluttmish are recorded incidentally, *e.g.*, Pt. III, ch. xviii, Anecs. 1720, 1729.

14. Tales of Indian origin, about various Hindú rulers.

Pt. I, anecs. 175; 176; 366; 373; 374; 376; 380; 397; 628; 629; 693; 731; 753; 779; 1025.

V. Accounts of religious persons.

1. Saints.

There is a considerable number of anecdotes concerning the lives and sayings and exhortations of various holy men.

Pt. I, ch. iii, anecs. 79—118 are entirely devoted to biographical sketches of the Šúfis.

Pt. I, ch. xv, anecs. 788—837 are also noteworthy as giving memorable aphorisms and detached accounts of pious persons.

Besides these, many others are spread over the vast range of chapters.

2. Theologians and Judges.

A considerable number of such anecdotes is found throughout the entire work.

Pt. I, chs. xi, xv, xvi are worthy of mention. The last chapter, specially devoted to the *Qádhís*, contains 66 anecs., concerning the Imám Abú Ḥanífa, the Imám Abú Yúsuf, the Imám Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, and the Imám Sháfi'í, all Sunní theologians.

3. Heresiarchs and pseudo-prophets.

There are about 15 anecdotes.

Pt. III, ch. viii, anecs. 1619—1627 are entirely devoted to the accounts of the great heresiarchs.

VI. Accounts of Secular and other Eminent Persons.

1. Kings and rulers of various countries.

Pt. I, chs. vi, vii, viii, ix, x, anecs. 363—564 are chiefly devoted to the civil, judicial, executive and legislative methods of these rulers.

Pt. II, chs. iii and iv, also reveal partially the methods of government employed by various princes.

Pt. IV, chs. i and ii are also important for ascertaining the position of state officials under absolute rulers. Most chapters exhibit the peculiar traits of various rulers and illustrate to some extent the history of the political institutions that existed in the East, from the days of Nūshīrwān, the Just, to the last of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, in various Islamic states and under various Muḥammadan dynasties. All historical accounts are recorded in section IV.

2. Wazirs.

Pt. I, ch. xiv, anecs. 736—787 contain 52 anecdotes of the ministers of different countries, with copious illustrations of their statesmanship, and of the chief political events that happened during their administration. The range of this chapter also is very wide. It includes Buzurjmīhr, the Barmecides, and their successors in the office of ministership under the early 'Abbāsīds, and gives an account that of other famous Wazirs like the Šāḥib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and Abu'l-Fadhl Bal'amī.

Besides this special chapter, there are many other anecdotes in Pt. IV, chs. vi and vii, that are interesting, as they depict the dramatic changes of ministry in the latter period of the decline of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate.

3. Secretaries.

Pt. I, ch. xviii, anecs. 987—1023 are important. They contain several important historical documents written by famous secretaries, e.g. Abu'l-Qāsim Iskāf and Mu'īnu'd-Dīn al-Aṣamm. Besides these there are other accounts of important secretaries and state-officials in pt. II, ch. xxv.

4. Favourites and boon-companions.

Pt. I, ch. xix, anecs. 1024—1040 are specially devoted to the accounts of agreeable companions on occasions of conviviality. The Šāḥib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād's remark on wine is recorded, and accounts are given of Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī, Ḥasan-i-Dhahḥāk, Ishāq-i-Mawṣilī, Abū Dulaf Khazrajī, and Ḥammādu'r-Rāwīya.

5. Physicians.

Pt. I, ch. xx, anecs. 1041—1055 are devoted to wonderful cures of strange diseases. Accounts of Hippocrates, Rhazes, Qaṭīf, Aristotle, Mīnūbal, Sarnāb or Sarbāt and Mānī-i-Muwaswas are given. Most of these are taken from at-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj*, and have been discussed by Browne in his excellent *Arabian Medicine*.

6. Poets.

Pt. I, ch. xxiii, 1107—1125 contain short accounts of the extempore verses composed by the following poets on one occasion or another: Marwān b. Ḥafṣa, Ḥasan Dhahḥāk, Zuhayr b. Šurad, Abu'l-'Atāhiya, Turayḥ b. Ismā'īl al-Thaqafī, Abū Tammām, Abu'sh-Shamaqmaq, Bad'uz-Zamān Hamadhānī, Ma'rūf of Balkh, al-Akhṭal, Ibnu'r-Rūmī, al-A'shā, Ru'ba and Farrukhī. (There are a few other anecdotes about poets like Dībil of Khuṣā'a and others in different places and in a different connection.)

7. Astrologers.

Pt. I, ch. xxii, 1090—1106.

Predictions of Fadhl b. Sahl the Wazir, Abū Ma'shar (al-Balkhī), Mānī-i-Muwaswas, and Sa'du'z-Zamān (?) are recorded.

8. Oneiromancers.

Pt. I, ch. xxi, 1056—1089.

Interpretations of Ibn-i-Sīrīn, Buzurjmīhr, Ya'qūb Kisā'ī and Bayānu'l-Ḥaqq on the dreams of different persons.

9. Clairvoyants and shrewd persons.

Pt. I, ch. xi, 565—612.

Illustrations of the sagacity and foresight of various classes of people are mentioned in this and other chapters. Among the theologians Imām Shāfi', the Qādhīs Iyās, Shurayḥ and Sharfī, and among the philosophers Polcmon are worthy of note.

10. Wise persons.

Pt. I, chs. xv, xvi, xxv contain accounts and sayings of various sages and eminent personalities.

11. Artful persons.

Pt. I, ch. xiii, 676—735.

Wiles and stratagems of various rulers and generals, e.g. 'Amr b. al-'Āṣ, Ya'qūb b. Layṭh, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Qutayba b. Muslim and Mu'āwiya.

12. Witty and humorous persons.

Pt. I, ch. viii, 444—482 contain pithy sayings of the rulers.

Pt. IV, ch. xxv, 2075—2113 contain humorous pieces and anecdotes of the litigants before Qādhīs in public courts.

13. Women.

Pt. III, chs. xxii—xxv, 1742—1789.

Account of various types of women: clever, pious, unchaste and artful.

VII. Ethics.

Pts. I and II deal with Virtues and Vices, illustrated from the accounts of historical personages. There is no systematic study of ethics. Under each virtue or vice incidents of various rulers and eminent persons are collected. All such historical anecdotes are arranged in section IV of this Re-classification.

VIII. Encounters and exciting occurrences.

Pt. IV, chs. iii—xiii, anecs. 1809—1934. These anecdotes of "Relief after Distress" are taken from at-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda*, and have been completely analysed in the *Table of Contents* and elsewhere. Other historical material connected with the eminent personalities is arranged in section IV.

IX. Geography and the Wonders of the World. Pt. IV, chs. xvi—xviii.

1. A sketch of the Seven "Climes" and "Routes". (Anecs. 1963—1964).

2. A description of China. (Anec. 1965).

3. On the various Turkman tribes. (Anecs. 1966—1967).

4. An account of old Byzantine civilization. (Anec. 1968).

5. An account of the Arabian Peninsula. (Anec. 1969).

6. A short account of India. (Anec. 1971).

7. An account of the Abyssinians. (Anecs. 1972—1975).

8. An account of the inhabitants of the Jazā'ir or the Isles on the Caspian Sea. (Anec. 1976).

9. Monuments and remarkable buildings. Antiquities. (Anecs. 1977—1986).

X. Physical properties of objects, Natural History and other Curious Phenomena. Pt. IV, chs. xiv, xv, xix—xxiii.

1. Curious properties of stones and other natural objects. IV, xx, anecs. 1996—2008.

2. The long-lived persons. IV, xv, anecs. 1945—1962.

3. Human Monstrosities. IV, xiv, anecs. 1935—1944.

4. Temperament of Animals and their curious effects. IV, xxi—xxiv, anecs. 2009—2066.

5. Curious birds and their peculiarities. IV, xxiv, anecs. 2067—2074.

6. Talismans. IV, xix, anecs. 1987—1995.

CHAPTER VIII.

A COMPLETE *ALPHABETICAL LIST* OF ALL THE
WORKS MENTIONED IN THE *JA WAMI'UL-ḤIKĀYĀT*.

(pp. 271—276).

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احبار رامكه	1291, 1341 1694	3
ادان العرب	7	4 a.
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نوی نار ۱۱ نوی نار (۹۱۷) تحرات الدوله او العباس (احمد بن محمد علوه السجستانی)	1783	25 b.
۱۰. تاريخ اسکندر روى (۲) ۱۱ احبار اسکندر (۲)	1524; 1064.	
۱۱. تاريخ اکاسره (۲)	1543	16.
۱۲. تاريخ امير اسمعيل (و) نصر بن احمد سامانی (۲)	500.	
۱۳. تاريخ بغداد	1888.	8.
۱۴. تاريخ بنی مروان (۲)	1995.	
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۱۶. تاريخ (ملوك) تركستان لحدالدس عداں السرحکئی	1974.	10
۱۷. تاريخ حراسان	1652, 1707.	11
۱۸. تاريخ خلفاء بنی العباس، تاريخ آل عباس، تاريخ دولت عباسیان	697, 1464, 1475, 1486, 1559, 1682, 1895, 1914, 1986	12
۱۹. تاريخ خوارزمیان (۲)	G. f 257 a. III. xi. 1652.	11.
۲۰. تاريخ دایله	1940	9
۲۱. تاريخ طاهریان	1417, 1428.	11
۲۲. تاريخ (محمد بن حریر) الطبری	(mentioned 20 times).	13.
۲۳. تاريخ ماوراء النهر، رجوع کبید تاريخ تركستان	1973	10.

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۵۸ صحیح البخاری	1321.	p. 101.
۵۹ طبایع (or کتاب) الحيوان للجاحظ	1541; 2009, 2047; 2059.	34.
۶۰ طبایع الحيوان للروزی	1936; 2009; 2010.	29.
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۶۲ عیون الاخیار للنسفی (P)	1353.	18 b.
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۶۵ الفرج بعد الشدة للنوخی	<i>Frequently cited.</i>	31.
۶۶ الفرج بعد الشدة، ترجمته للعوفی صاحب الكتاب	1848.	32.
۶۷ [قاموس نامه] «تیس المعالی قاموس [بن] و شکیب در انتای پندها که پسر را میداد»	1423.	33.
۶۸ کتاب ابی ریحان [البیرونی فی تحقیق ما للهند من مقولة مقولة فی العقل او مرذولة]	2057.	1 b.
۶۹ کتاب ارسطاطالیس (P)	2050.	34.
۷۰ کتاب جانا از حکماء هند (P)	1549.	
۷۱ کتاب سموم (P)	2040.	34.
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۷۳ کتاب طلسمات (P) الوداطیس (P) از حکماء یونان کنانی در طلسمات ساخته است	1992; 1993.	
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٨٢ مجمع الامثال (i)	1583; 1631, 1660, 1710; 1962.	
٨٣ مدائح السلطان للعوفي صاحب الكتاب	613. See above, p. 14.	
٨٤ المسالك و الممالك (i)	1976.	37.
٨٥ مسند اخبار رموى	1198.	p. 101.
٨٦ مفتاح النجاح لقاض من قصة اوش	1596.	
٨٧ مقامات الحريرى	1593.	
٨٨ مقامات شيخ ابى سعيد (اسرار التوحيد فى)	110.	5.
٧٩ مقامات شيخ بايزيد البسطامى	92, 1691.	
٩٠ ملح النوادر للثعالى (P)	1582, 1586; 1599.	
٩١ نثر الدرر لاني بصرى ثعلبى (P) (sio)	1634.	
٩٢ وصاى اوردشير (P)	1450.	pp. 56, 59-60. 26.
٩٣ وصيت نامه نظام الملك	1445.	
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